APPENDIX A

THE ANIMALS OF THE BLACK HILLS AND WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK: Their Cultural Uses & Meanings

The animals described in this appendix are organized into five major groups, following common European American taxonomic practice:1) *Mammals;* 2) *Birds;* 3) *Insects and Spiders;* 4) *Reptiles and Amphibians;* and 5) *Fish, Crustaceans, and Mollusks.* Again, unless otherwise indicated, most references to animal species at Wind Cave National Park come from the park's own web sites (Pisarowicz 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d).

Because of the enormous amount of ethnographic material on tribal relationships to animals, information was assembled mostly on the Cheyennes and Lakotas, the two tribal nations with the most intense and best documented use of the area that became Wind Cave National Park. While the material gathered together here is comprehensive, it is by no means inclusive of tribal knowledge and relationships to animals in traditional contexts. Sources for material on relations to animals among other tribal nations who lived in the Black Hills are vast. Some of the better and more accessible sources include: Arapahos (Kroeber 1902-07; Dorsey and Kroeber 1905); Arikaras (Curtis 1907-30:5; Tabeau in Abel 1939), Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952), Crows (Lowie 1922, 1956), Hidatsas (Bowers 1963), Kiowas (Mishkin 1940; Mariott 1945; Nye 1962), Mandans (Bowers 1950), Plains Apaches (Schweinfurth 2002), and Poncas (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1972; Howard 1965).

I. Mammals

As a group, the mammals were the most important animals to the Lakotas and the Cheyennes as a source of food and material used in manufacture. They were also significant for spiritual protection and guidance.

Ungulates [Artiodactyla]

For the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, the region near Wind Cave is most closely associated with animals represented by the ungulate order, especially bison. Although other species, including the coyote, wolf, snowbird, swifthawk, crow, and magpie, also play a role in stories associated with the Buffalo Gap, the Race Track, and the cave itself, the bison figures most prominently. Many of the stories that surround the region not only establish the nature of human and animal (specifically bison) relationships, but they also describe the origins of the bison and the dependence of humans on their beneficence.

All of the ungulate species located in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave were an important source of food and skins for the tribal nations who lived in the region during historic times. Although bison were clearly the most significant of these animals in practical and spiritual terms, pronghorn, elk, deer, and bighorn were important too. Bison, however, occupied the most complex

position in tribal cosmologies. They were the principal source of food and material well being, and as such, their spiritualized essence was represented and highlighted in nearly every major sacred text and ceremony.

Among the Cheyennes, *Esceheman,* the earth *maiyun,* and her daughter, *Ehyophstah*, not only appear in the image of a bison, but they are also the primary progenitors of the animal. The two major culture figures of the Cheyenne, Sweet Medicine and Stands on the Ground, were gifted with the power of the Sacred Arrows and Sacred Hat respectively to bring the bison and other game animals to the people. The stories that revolve around these figures are considered among the most sacred to the Cheyennes, and two of their major ceremonies, the *Oxheheom* [New Life Lodge] or Sun Dance and the *Massaum* or Animal Dance, recreate aspects of their most sacred stories. As told in these texts, the Cheyenne received some of their knowledge about the spiritual nature of animals at Bear Butte in the Black Hills (Kroeber 1900; Dorsey, G. 1905; Grinnell 1907,1910, 1926:242-243, 257-280, 1972:2: 211-385;Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967: 11-41, 73-114; Schlesier 1987:4-9).

There is another highly sacred Cheyenne text that takes place at the Race Track, which covers a portion of the land at Wind Cave National Park. This story is known to the Lakotas and considered highly sacred to them as well. It tells of a great gathering of the animals and a race between them to determine who would be the hunted and the hunter. The central figure that humans run against is a buffalo in Cheyenne stories. Humans win the race through the help of certain carnivores and birds, notably, the magpie. As a reward for their victory, humans receive knowledge of the buffalo's dance that is recreated in the Cheyennes' most revered ceremony, the Sun Dance. Some Lakotas and Cheyennes believe this took place at the Buffalo Gap (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:2:472-477; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:72).

The Lakotas also have other sacred stories that take place at Wind Cave, which is situated above and just to the west of the Race Track (Walker 1917, 1983; Koeller 1951; Herman in One Feather 1972; Red Cloud in Matson 1972; Black Elk in Thiez 1975:6-8; LaPointe 1976:79-84; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:147-148; Charging Eagle and Zeilinger 1987). In their stories, the cave is the entrance to the subterranean home of the *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation], and for some Lakotas, the origin place of humanity. Of all the animals, humans are most closely identified with bison. Like humans, bison stand apart from other major categorical groups of animals, hooves, claws, diggers, and builders, in Lakota origin stories (Walker 1983:273-274, 358-360). Whereas other game have a spiritualized essence and their own individual guardian animals, bison take precedence over all of them and play a controlling role in their destinies. Also, when *Okaga* hunts for *Wohpe*, she prepares the skins of pronghorn, bighorn, and deer (Walker 1983: 67-70) for *Waziyata*, the North Wind, the direction of the bison.

The life-sustaining significance of game animals as a source of sustenance and general well-being continues to the present-day among the Lakotas and Cheyennes, remaining prominent in their religious life and symbolism and central to their cultural identities as well.

THE BOVID FAMILY [*BOVIDAE*]

The family *Bovidae* contains two species that were closely associated with the Black Hills and the surrounding grasslands in historic times, the bison and the bighorn. Of these two species, the bison was the most abundant and the most important as a source of food and technology. It was also the most significant animal in tribal cosmologies. Bighorns, while prevalent in the area during the early nineteenth century, appear to have been less important culturally. Their meat,

skins, and horns were prized, and there were also spiritual connections to these animals, but very little information has survived about them.

Bison
[*Bison bison*]

Before the 1850s, and, for some tribes, up until the 1870s, bison were the mainstay of their economies. They were a major source of food, and they provided many basic materials for shelter, tools, medicine, and clothing (Densmore 1948:172). After the 1820s, their robes became important items of trade, exchanged for the wide assortment of foreign commodities that European American traders stocked. For most of the tribal nations who lived in reach of the Black Hills, bison occupied a pivotal place in their livelihood and cosmology. The Lakotas considered the bison the chief of all the animals and the penultimate metaphor for the workings of the cosmos (Black Elk in Brown 1992:13). Among the Cheyennes, where predatory mammals and birds occupied some of the highest spiritual positions in the cosmic order and stood in control over game animals (like pronghorn), bison were an exception because they were considered game animals and also powerful spirit beings (Schlesier 1987:8).

Habitat and History

In the early nineteenth century, the base of the Black Hills along the forks of the Cheyenne River was commonly described as a rich bison range where tribal nations who lived in villages along the Missouri River often took their fall hunts (Tabeau in Abel 1939:87). Over the next three decades, other observers would report on the abundance of bison on the grasslands surrounding the Black Hills, although occasional local shortages were observed as well (Clow 1995). As John Ewers (1938:12), one of the Smithsonian Institution's most highly respected ethnologists, stated: "The Black Hills furnished the favorite winter home for the buffalo."

In the 1840s, however, reports of bison herds dwindling on the plains east of the Hills start to appear and even accounts of shortages along the Platte River become more frequent. By the 1850s, statements about the declining herds at these locations were commonplace (Denig in Ewers 1961: 22, 25; Hyde 1961:29; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:200; Hurt 1974:242; Price, C. 1996: 46-50). Although bison were still hunted near the Black Hills, as evidenced by Lt. G.K. Warren's description (1875:15-16) of a Lakota bison hunt on the western side of the Hills near Inyan Kara Mountain in 1857 and General William F. Raynolds' sighting of bison near the Hills in 1859 (Turner 1974: 144), it is clear the Hills were no longer at the center of the best bison hunting ranges. Ferdinand V. Hayden (1862b:151) noted: "but there are certain parts of the country over which they formerly roamed in immense herds, but are never or rarely seen at the present time. The area over which the buffalo graze is annually contracting its geographical limits." 1866, seven years later, is purportedly the last date when bison were sighted in the Black Hills (Turner 1974: 144). Later dates, however, are reported for stragglers in the Hills in 1879, at Buffalo Gap in 1881, Hot Springs in 1882, and Custer in 1884 (McGillacuddy 1879; Clark 1927:22-23; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:221; Sundstrom, J. 1994:110). According to Turner (1974:144), when the military abandoned its posts along the North Platte in the 1860s, bison were still plentiful. However, by 1871, the herds were largely gone from eastern Wyoming. The Black Hills Expedition of 1874 did not sight any bison on their march from the Missouri to the Black Hills, even though a small number of stragglers still inhabited the country north of the Hills towards the Grand River (Turner 1974). George Grinnell (1875: 79) reported sighting fresh skulls and a ritual arrangement of 60 painted skulls lined up in five rows all facing east. Large herds, however, still dominated territories along the

Tongue, Powder, and Yellowstone rivers, and they also remained plentiful along the Arkansas and Republican rivers until professional non-Indian buffalo hunters exterminated them in the late 1870s. It was to these regions that many of the Cheyennes, Lakotas, and Arapahos moved, often traveling from their winter camps along the White and Cheyenne rivers at the base of the Black Hills to do so (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:154-165).

After being extirpated from the Black Hills for nearly half a century, bison were returned to the area of Wind Cave National Park in 1913 as a gift from the National Bison Society. Seven bulls and seven cows were purchased from the New York Zoological Gardens from stock acquired a decade earlier at the Berkshire Hills Game Preserve in Massachusetts (Turner 1974: 144). Even though the Hills were restocked with imported bison, the first place they returned was the area of Wind Cave -- a symbolically significant fact that probably did not go unnoticed by the Lakotas who believe this cave is the home and origin place of the *Pte Oyate* or Buffalo Nation.

Tribal Taxonomy

The significance of the bison in the lives of local tribes is evidenced by the multiplicity of names they assigned to this animal. In the Lakota language, for example, there are more than twenty different names for bison. The generic name for a cow is *pte* (Buechel 1970:448), and for the bull, it is *tatanka* (Ibid:483). Bison are further separated by age, as in the names *ptehincala* [calf] (Ibid: 448), *he slusluta* [a three year old 'slippery-horn'] (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:293), *hitobuye,* [a four year old] (Buechel 1970: 178), *pte hayuktanla* [a heifer, 'horns begin to bend'] (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:293), *hepola* [a yearling bull, 'horns swell'] *hehblogeca* [a bull two years of age, 'hollow horn'] (Ibid.), and *hehutela* [an old bison whose horns are worn off and badly damaged] (Buechel 1970:171).

Cows were distinguished by the texture of their hair, the color of their skin, and by their size and weight as in: *ptehin'sma* [thick, long haired buffalo] (Buechel 1970: 448), *hehlogeca* [the rare horned cow] (Ibid: 172), *pte san* [the white buffalo cow] (Ibid: 449), *pte chepa* [fat cow] (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:293), *ptewin'kte* [the fat but sterile cow] (Buechel 1970:449), *pteta'maka* [a lean cow] (Ibid.), *hohetapte* [a lean cow whose fat is found at the time it's killed] (Ibid:181), *pte cik'ala* [small cow] (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:293), and. *cehinka tapte* [a large cow] (Buechel 1970:129), Bulls were differentiated as follows: *tatanka heslusluta* [a bull with smooth horns] (Ibid:483), *tatanka winkte* [a bull with small testicles] (Ibid.), *tagica* [a lean bull], and *taguha* [an old bull] (Ibid:473).

The Cheyennes also had a similarly diverse set of names for bison (Hayden 1862b:291, 297; Petter 1913-15:193, 195, 312). *Esevon* is the name for a herd of bison (Petter 1913-15:193). *Hotova?a* or *hotoa?a*, *hotova-ao?o* or *hotoaao?o* are names for the bull (Petter 1913-15:193), while *mehe* is a cow (Ibid:195, 312). *Hetanevoska* refers to a male calf and *heevoksa* a female calf; these terms refer to their yellow coloration at this stage of their life cycle. A calf at one year of age is called *moxtavoksa* [black calf], while a two-year old heifer is known as *monscess*. *Hotoxpess* is the word used for a bull between one and three years old, *hoxtoxpeoeva* is a scabby young bull, and *hoxtoxpa* refers to bull around four years of age (Ibid:193). A fat bison cow is called *voesemehe*, a mysterious bison is called *Ma'heonemehe*, a lean cow is known as *mamehe*, and a young one *monemehe* (Ibid:193, 315). A cow that bears late in the fall is known as *ookoenemehe*, one with her first calf is called *zemonhosesz*, and one who bears when old is named *matamamehe*. *Vosta* is the name for the sacred white buffalo (Ibid:193).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Much has been written in the ethnographic literature about the ways in which the tribal nations of the plains procured bison, but the best overall synthesis of their procurement strategies is George Arthur's work (1975) *An Introduction to the Ecology of Early Historic Communal Bison Hunting Among the Northern Plains Indians*. In times before the adoption of horses, the Native peoples of the Plains drove bison over cliffs, into natural enclosures and snow banks, or into specially constructed corrals. A number of archaeological sites in the neighborhood of the Black Hills, including some on or near park properties, reveal these common practices. After the arrival of horses, bison were more commonly surrounded, or as some observers claimed, even "herded" (Seton 1929: 1:668) and hunted on horse-back with bows and arrows or with guns.

Although bison could be taken at any time of the year, the most common season to hunt them was during the late summer through the early fall months when they gathered on the open grasslands in large herds (Densmore 1918:437; Ewers 1938: 43-44; Hoebel 1960:53). This was the season when bands came together to conduct their large communal hunts, which among the Lakotas were called *wani-sapa.* One of the most comprehensive descriptions of this kind of bison hunting as practiced by the Lakotas is found in the work of James Walker (1982:74-94) based on information he secured at the end of the nineteenth century from tribal elders at Pine Ridge. According to his description, the hunt began with a ceremony to spiritually prepare the assembled parties for their collective undertaking. Simultaneously, a council was called together, comprised of leaders from participating *tiospaye,* to determine who among them would lead the hunt and select the warrior societies to serve as the hunt *akicita* or marshals. Once the marshals and their assistants were chosen, they took complete control over the policing of the camp, its movements, and the hunts. Anyone who disobeyed the orders of the *akicita* and the customary rules of a hunt encampment was subject to severe punishment. According to Thomas Tyon and John Blunt Horn's description (in Walker 1982: 32), these rules included the following:

> All must move together. No one must take advantage to get at the game before the others can profit by it. If anyone stampedes the game he must be punished. The meat gotten during a hunt must be fairly and equally divided among all members of the party. The marshals must direct the approach and attack on the game. Everyone in a hunting party must obey the directions of the marshals.

In the meantime, the hunters began to ready their horses and weapons, while women conducted an array of tasks in preparation for the camp's journey to the bison grounds. Travel to favorable bison hunting ranges often involved journeys of several days at speeds of ten to twenty five miles per day (Ibid:80-83). Scouts were sent out ahead of the main body to be on the lookout for enemies and to determine the best locations to encamp and follow a herd (Ibid:84-85). Once a camping site was chosen, a spiritual intercessor, or shaman, performed ceremonies "to call the buffalo." Games were played, including the *Woskate Painyankapi* [Game of Wands and Hoops], and races were held that were believed to bring a successful outcome to the hunt (Mekeer 1901b: 1-2; Walker 1905:278-283, 1982:89). People in the camp were admonished by the *akicita* to keep quiet, to quell the cries of their children and the barks of their dogs in order not to attract the atten-tion of enemies or alarm nearby herds (Walker 1982:90). When the scouts located a herd to surround, they returned to the camp and announced this in a ritual manner with the use of a sacred pipe and a prayer to *Taku Wakan* (Ibid:90-91). After this, a herald went about the camp announcing the discovery of the bison and preparations were then made to begin the hunt the following morning at dawn (Ibid:91-92). The *akicita* lined up the hunters for the assault, and when the signal

was given to approach the herd, the hunters rode swiftly, surrounding and rushing on the herd and killing as many bison as possible (Ibid:92). While the hunt was in progress, the women, children, and elderly approached the hunting site to assist in butchering and transporting the meat and hides (Ibid:92-93). Besides this elaborate account, there are Royal B. Hassrick's detailed descriptions (1964:174-178) of the surround method of hunting and the practice of driving bison over a cliff. Edward S. Curtis (1907-30:3:8-10) also writes about these different methods of hunting bison, and John Ewers (1938:42-44) presents an excellent summary of historical records that describe Lakota practices of impounding, driving animals over cliffs, surrounding them, and hunting them on snowshoes. Two historical sources also need to be singled out; Francis Parkman's account (in Feltskog 1969) of a Lakota buffalo hunt on the Platte River plains and Lt. G. K. Warren's famous report (1875:15-16) of Lakotas driving bison into a canyon near Inyan Kara mountain on the western side of the Black Hills. Lakota eyewitness recollections of bison hunts are given by Siyaka (in Densmore 1918:439-442), Luther Standing Bear (1975:49-53, 58-66), Henry Standing Bear (in DeMallie 1984:143-147), and Nicholas Black Elk (in Ibid:147-148).

As described by George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:262-263), the Cheyenne method of surrounding bison on horseback, using lances, bows and arrows, or rifles as weapons, was very similar to what Walker described for the Lakotas. The hunt and camp were placed under strict marshal law, and anyone who committed an infraction was severely punished. After the arrival of horses, the surround method surpassed most of the older techniques for hunting bison among the Cheyennes as it did among the Lakotas. In earlier times, probably pre-1820, various driving and impounding techniques, one of which included bringing the bison into the camp circle, were more common. According to Karl Schlesier (1987:53), these were the proper and most respectful to ways to kill bison. From Grinnell (1972:1:264-265) and Schlesier's (1987:53-60) descriptions, pens or corrals for impounding bison were typically constructed under a "bluff or cutbank" with at least one wall serving as a side for the enclosure. The opposite side was constructed of brush and sticks. The two sides were fashioned into a v-shaped chute formation, with the opening of the enclosure facing the prairie. The bison were both enticed and driven into the enclosure with the participation of all members of the camp, men, women, children, and the elderly. Once the bison were in the enclosure, they were shot with arrows and killed. Many of the techniques used by the Cheyennes to impound bison were inspired by dreams, and White Hawk told Grinnell (1972:1:266-268) some of his. One dream involved a method whereby two elderly men beckoned the bison into the enclosure by waving large bird wings (Ibid:266). Another entailed the construction of the enclosure itself, as White Hawk (in Grinnell 1972:1:266) described it:

> His dream said to him: 'You shall take our people and have them make a large pen out of wood and brush, with a gap in one side, and a chute with diverging wings running far out on the prairie, fences which shall hide the people from the buffalo. Then you shall take certain men of the camp and go out with them on the prairie, and you can bring the buffalo into this pen.'

Where Cheyenne drove bison into pounds, they often left stacked piles of bison horns in a manner similar to the Arapaho practice of piling up elk horns. These piles appear to be connected to a widespread pattern of propitiating the spirits of slain animals common among many tribal nations in the Algonkian language family. Grinnell (1972:1:268) reported numerous piles of bison horn at locations west of the Hills when he traveled there with the Black Hills Expedition in 1874.

Another older form of Cheyenne bison hunting involved driving bison into snowdrifts with the help of dogs (Grinnell 1972: 1:268). This practice was also reported for

the Lakotas (Ewers 1938:42; Hassrick 1964: 177-178). Like the Lakotas, all Cheyenne communal bison hunting was ritualized and under the stewardship of shamans, called *Naoetaevoan*, who were spiritually partnered with the bison and able to beckon them to the locations where they were surrounded or driven into enclosures. These same shamans also performed rites at the end of the hunt to give thanks to the spirits of the bison for their assistance (Schlesier 1987: 53).

When bison were taken in the winter, families and bands were geographically dispersed into more informally organized hunting groups known among the Lakotas as *tate* (Hassrick 1964:166). These groups were the primary hunting units during the winter when the Lakotas encamped around the Black Hills. As late as the 1820s, solitary Lakota hunters were reported to take bison on foot, although the adoption of horses had overtaken this method (Ewers 1938:42-44). Before the widespread use of horses, bison were more commonly hunted in the late fall and early winter with the use of jumps or corrals (Binemma 2001:35, 37-54). The Cheyennes also took bison in small parties when their encampments were located near mountain ranges during the wintertime, but this was the usual time of the year for deer and elk hunting. However, if a solitary hunter or small hunting party came upon a large herd of bison, they could not chase them on their own. They had to make the herd's presence known to the entire camp, so the leaders and their marshals could organize a formal surround (Grinnell 1972:1:262).

Food

Bison provided the Lakotas with their principal meat staple, and nearly all parts of the animal were eaten (Curtis 1907-30:3:38; Ewers 1938:16; Walker 1982:74). Considered delicacies to be served on ceremonial occasions were the tongue, gristles around the nostrils, the flesh from the hump, the raw liver soaked in gall, the pancreas, and tripe (Ewers 1938:15; Hassrick 1964:190; Standing Bear 1978:54; Walker 1982: 64, 93-94; Brown 1992:14). Also highly valued was the fetus of a calf cooked in the gravid uterus (Walker 1982:74). Sausages were made with with bits of boiled or roasted meat, blood, and/or tallow and stuffed into the small intestines (Hassrick 1964:190; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386). Bone marrow was boiled to release the fat for making pemmican (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386). The lungs were dried and cooked over hot coals (Hassrick 1964:190). Other bison parts that were consumed included the testicles and eyes (Ewers 1938:15). The brains and the shavings from scraped hides were used as thickeners in making soups and puddings (Standing Bear 1978:54). Hide scrapings were also eaten during difficult times, and even rawhide containers might be boiled and consumed under emergency circumstances (Ewers 1938:16). As John Ewers (Ibid:16) wrote: "But in times of food shortage all parts of the buffalo, save the glands of the neck, the sinews, bull's pizzle, horns, hoofs, and hair were eaten."

Bison were also the Cheyennes' primary source of meat (Hoebel 1960:64; Grinnell 1972:1:255). The Cheyennes prized the tongue, gristles around the nostrils, the flesh from the hump, the raw liver soaked in gall, the pancreas, and the tripe, and they served these parts on ceremonial occasions (Grinnell 1972:1:255; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). The Cheyennes used the small intestines for making sausages, and they also consumed the lungs and many other body parts (Grinnell 1972:1:255).

Bison meat was butchered and prepared in many different ways. Some of the internal organs were eaten raw, but most food parts were either boiled in soups or roasted over hot coals (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386). Much of the meat from the loins and back of the animal was cut into long slices and dried in the sun on large racks, or it was smoked over hot coals inside the lodge. After being dried, it was usually pounded and combined with dried fruit and tallow in small cakes commonly called pemmican (Grinnell 1972: 1:255; Black Elk 1984:386). More exhaus-

tive discussions of meat preservation and preparation are found in several sources (White Elk and Looking Glass in Densmore 1918:443-444; Ewers 1938:20; Hassrick 1964:189-190; Grinnell 1972:1: 110, 120, 255-257; 264, 266, 268, 2:348-349, 360, 378; Standing Bear 1978: 53-54; No Ears in Walker 1982:40; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:209, 366, 386; Saka Sni Win n.d.:2-9). There is also an excellent but unpublished description of these activities by Edward Freeland (1938), who invited a group of Oglalas from Pine Ridge to come to Wind Cave National Park in 1937 to demonstrate techniques of butchering, drying, and cooking bison for park visitors. Some of the Lakotas' favorite cooked bison dishes, as reported in Ferdinand Hayden's early writings (1862a, 1862b), included a boiled mixture of rosebuds, blood, brain, and rawhide scrapings, and another of wild turnips combined with the dried paunch of the bison.

In Art, Manufacture, and Ceremony

The dependence of the Lakotas and Cheyennes on the bison and the nearly exhaustive use of its parts for much of their food and many of their life necessities is widely reported in the literature. In the ceremony where they renewed their Sacred Arrows, the Cheyennes made a special point of fabricating every article with material drawn from the buffalo, including hide, glue, sinew, and blood (Dorsey, G. 1905:12). What follows is a sampling of the some of the diverse practical and ceremonial uses to which bison products were put.

Horns and hooves had many different applications. Horns were made into dishes, spoons, ladles, scrapers, and a wide variety of other utensils and tools (Curtis 1907-30:3:138; Densmore 1948:195, 303; Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:64, 211; Standing Bear 1978:53-54; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121). They also went into the manufacture of bows (Ewers 1938:37; Grinnell 1972:173; Brown 1992:12), and they were used medicinally in the treatment of blood diseases (Goose in Densmore 1918:251). They were worn on the headdresses of officiates who conducted the Lakota *Hunka* and *Pte San Lowanpi* (Walker 1980:223, 246). Indeed, only men who held spiritual partnerships with bison were authorized to wear the horns of dead bison because these were believed to contain the "spiritual potency" of the animal (Walker 1982:103).[1]

Hooves were used as hatchets for butchering (Densmore 1918:443), they were boiled to make glue (Standing Bear 1978:53-54), they were used in arrow-making (Grinnell 1972: 1:183), and they were made into pendants, rattles, and decorative cylinders (Grinnell 1972:1:221; Brown 1992:122).

Bison bone went into the making of scrapers, needles, awls, and hoes (Densmore 1948:203; Brown 1992:121). Runners for sleds, toys, and game parts were fabricated from the rib and jaw (Vestal 1934:7; Grinnell 1972:314; Standing Bear 1978:53-54). Arrowpoints, arrow-straightners, and knives were carved from shoulder blades and/or made from the dorsal spine (Curtis 1907-30: 6:158; Bordeaux 1929:183-184; Densmore 1918:443; Grinnell 1972:185, 213-214). Finally, the Cheyennes made a specialized tool from the proximal end of the humerus to abrade the hide before tanning (Grinnell 1972: 185, 213-214).

The skulls of bison had considerable spiritual significance and were used widely in ceremonial contexts. The Lakotas believed that the skulls held the "spiritual potency" of the bison and served as a sacred dwelling for *Tatanka*, the principle spiritual representative of the bison (Walker 1980:216, 224). Takes the Gun told Walker (1980:214) that in the *Hunka* ceremony:

> …the spirit of the buffalo comes to its skull. The spirit of *Tatanka* is pleased to see the

[1] Raymond DeMallie (1980:379n), however, claims that Walker may have exaggerated the spiritual restrictions associated with the wearing of buffalo headdresses.

skull of a buffalo. The buffalo skull is at the ceremony because *Tatanka* is pleased.

Indeed, in most Lakota ceremonies for hunting, healing, celebrating a girl becoming a woman, and honoring an adoption, bison skulls were painted and their orifices filled with sage as an act of propitiation and respect for the spirit of the buffalo (Curtis 1907- 30:3:75, 78, 82, 84, 86, 87, 94, 95, 98; Densmore 1918:72, 99, 122, 275; Walker 1980:179, 216, 224, 227-228, 238, 245, 247-248, 251, 255, 1982:74, 75-76). Similarly, the Cheyenne held the skull of the buffalo in high regard and filled its orifices with sage, sedge, and other sacred plants at their Sun Dance and Animal Dance (Dorsey, G. 1905: 91; Hoebel 1960:13, 16; Grinnell 1972:1: 82-83, 2:125, 223, 231, 235, 270, 291, 306; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:97; Schlesier 1987:6). When Grinnell (1875:79) came across a ritual arrangement of 60 painted skulls on the grasslands north of the Black Hills, lined up in five rows all facing east, this probably represented a spiritual act to petition the bison's friend, the sun, to bring about the animal's return.

Various organs from the bison were used in the making of bags and containers. The paunch or stomach of a buffalo was washed, cleaned, and suspended on sticks over a fire to serve as receptacle for boiling water and cooking meat (Curtis 1907-30:3:138, 6:156; Hassrick 1964:189; Grinnell 1972:1: 170, 212; Standing Bear 1975: 21; Brown 1992:122; Black Elk in DeMallie 1994:335, 386). The Cheyennes also made temporary cups from the paunch (Grinnell 1972:1:170). Bladder bags held water, food, quills, tobacco, paints, and medicines (Ewers 1938:60; Densmore 1948:176; Grinnell 1972:1: 212-213; Walker 1982:100; Brown 1992:122). The Lakotas commonly used them for important ceremonial occasions including the *Hunka*, Sun Dance, and spirit-keeping ceremonies (Curtis 1907-30:3:72, 73, 86, 87, 140-141; Densmore 1918:71, 77, 103, 1948: 176). Indeed, the Lakotas considered the bladder to be sacred because as Black Elk (in Brown 1971:104) states, "it could contain the whole universe." The heart lining or pericardium served the Cheyennes as a water container for children and infants, and it also went into the making of cases to hold porcupine quills (Grinnell 1972:1:213, 219). The Lakotas used the pericardium as a container for mixing greasy foods (Buechel 1970:473).

The dried aorta of the buffalo was sometimes used as a smoking pipe among the Cheyennes (Curtis 1907-30:6:108). The scrotum of the bull was dried and made into rattles used in various ceremonial performances (Curtis 1907-30:3:78, 79, 86; Grinnell 1972:1:203; Walker 1980:213, 1982:74; Brown 1992:213). The Lakotas attached the tails of bison to many different objects to secure the patronage of *Tatanka*: they were tied on war clubs, on rods to beat the rawhide drum in the Sun Dance, and on switches used in sweatlodges. The tail was worn by the officiate of the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Densmore 1918:97-98; Walker 1980:179-180, 189, 246, 249, 1982:106; Brown 1992: 122). The Cheyennes attached strips of buffalo tail or beard to the heels of men's moccasins (Grinnell 1972:1:219). The tongue was another organ used by the Cheyenne; the rough skin at its tip was once fashioned into combs (Grinnell 1972:1:211). The Cheyennes also attached a bison windpipe to the headdress of the lodge-maker at their Sun Dance (Dorsey, G. 1905:95). The Lakotas made offerings of buffalo larynges in their spirit keeping ceremonies (Curtis 1907-30:3:106, 109, 110). Finally, the brains and liver of bison were mixed together and applied to skins and robes as a tanning solution (Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:216; Standing Bear 1975:19).

The tendons, fat, and blood of the bison had many diverse uses too. The sinew from the buffalo's hind legs was dried and cut into small arrowpoints, and sinew from the neck went into the construction and reinforcement of handles for needles, knives, and pipes (Densmore 1918:436; Grinnell 1972:1:208). Sinew from the bison's dorsal spine was made into sewing thread, bowstrings, rope,

and cordage (Lyford 1940:38; Grinnell 1972:1:218; Walker 1982:74). Among the Cheyennes, bison sinew was handled ceremoniously during the Animal Dance and the Sun Dance, rolled into a ball and covered with red cloth (Grinnell 1972:2: 240-241, 292). The Lakotas mixed bison fat with red clay and ash to make a paste, which functioned as skin cream and a cleanser (Standing Bear 1978:118). Bison fat was also the common medium for mixing paint pigments (Walker 1982:100). The fat from the heart was offered to the Sun Dance tree, and it was used to seal pipes smoked on ceremonial occasions (Sword in Deloria 1929:391; Black Elk in Brown 1971:88; Brown 1992:123). Bison blood was applied to arrows and mixed with paints; it was used in sealing pipes and in making glue (Densmore 1918:103, 439; Grinnell 1972:1:19; Brown 1992:123). Among the Cheyennes, tallow was used in salves and other medicinal application (Grinnell 1972:2:142).

Of all the different parts of the bison, the tanned skin, rawhide, and the detached fur or hair of the animal had the most versatile uses. There are a number of descriptions on the techniques of preparing and tanning bison hides for different purposes among the Lakotas and Cheyennes (Ewers 1938:50-51; Densmore 1948:172-174; Hoebel 1960:62; Hassrick 1964:182-183; Grinnell 1972:1: 213-217; Standing Bear 1975:19-21), and generally speaking, there were three different ways to prepare them.

In one preparation, after the hair was removed, the green hide was dried in the sun until it became hard but still pliable. This was rawhide. It was used in the making of parfleches, the large rectangular envelopes in which dried food and other materials were stored. This hide also went into the fabrication of eating bowls, cooking containers, medicine pouches, knife sheaths, splints, and quiver cases (Wissler 1910:79-82; Densmore 1948:178; Grinnell 1972:1: 244-245; Standing Bear 1978:53-54). Boats, mortars, and cradleboards were shaped out of dried hides and various kinds of horse gear were constructed out of this material too (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89; Ewers 1938:33-35; Standing Bear 1978:3; Walker 1982:80; Brown 1992:121-122; Grinnell 1972:210-211). Saddles of wood and elk horn were covered with green hide, which was then dried in place. Various kinds of ropes and lariats were plaited with strips of rawhide (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89; Ewers 1938:33-34; Grinnell 1972:2:197, 206-208; Walker 1982:81). The soles of moccasins were generally cut from dried buffalo hide (Wissler 1910; Ewers 1938:22; Grinnell 1972:1:219). Glue was produced from the boiled chippings of rawhide that came from the neck of a bull and from the shavings removed from hides when they were thinned (Grinnell 1972:1:175). The hide from a bison's head lined a hole in the ground where women pounded meat and berries for pemmican (Densmore 1948:174). The Cheyennes and Lakotas made war shields by drying and shrinking the green hide from a bull's neck (Ewers 1938:41; Grinnell 1972:1:175). Among the Lakotas, the green dried hide was used as a percussion instrument in the Sun Dance, effigies were cut out of rawhide to hang on the center pole, and a rawhide bag held the meat and plant offerings placed in the sacred tree's fork (Densmore 1918:118; Walker 1980:179, 189).

In another mode of preparation, the hair was removed and the hide softened and tanned. Many articles of everyday clothing, including dresses, leggings, moccasins, and loincloths, as well as bedding could be made from bison skin (Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122), although the Cheyennes and Lakotas tended to prefer the hides of other ungulates for these purposes. Among the Cheyennes, the dresses of older women and the leggings of older men were fabricated out of old and well-smoked tipi-liners (or dew cloths) made from buffalo cow skin (Grinnell 1972:1: 217). At the other end of the life cycle, clothing for Lakota infants was typically made out of skins from unborn calves (Standing Bear 1978:4). Pouches for storing medicines, pipes, gambling stakes,

sewing equipment, and paints were also fabricated from soft-tanned bison skins (Ewers 1938:51, 53; Grinnell 1972:1: 134).
Probably the most well-known and widely reported use of soft-tanned bison hide was in the making of tipis and tipi-liners (Curtis 1907-30:3:23, 25, 6:156; Ewers 1938:56; Grinnell 1972:1:226-234; Standing Bear 1975:19-21). Grinnell (1972:1:226) notes that Cheyenne women preferred to make their tipis from the hides of cows that had just shed their winter coats in mid-spring because these were the easiest to dress. Depending on their use and size, Cheyenne lodges required anywhere from eleven to twenty-one hides to construct them (Hoebel 1960: 62; Grinnell 1972:1:226).

There were also more formal and ceremonial uses for soft-tanned hides. The Lakotas painted their winter-counts and war deeds on soft-tanned buffalo skins (Walker 1982:100-101); these skins were also hung on poles with scalp locks as war banners (Brown 1992:123). After a successful raid, Cheyenne war parties painted battle images on these skins too and displayed them as they made a victorious entry into their village (Grinnell 1972:2:18-19). The Cheyennes kept their Sacred Hat in a bag made of bison skin (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:75), and their Contraries kept their lances wrapped in bison hides (Grinnell 1972:2:81). Lakota Sun dancers and their leader wore bison skins (Brown 1992:123). Bison hides draped the shade of boughs surrounding the dance circle. The skin of a calf was consecrated and hung over the entrance of the Sun Dance sweatlodge and then removed and suspended from the sacred pole during the ceremony (Densmore 1918:118, 123; Walker 1980: 186).

In the third manner of preparation, the hair was left on the hide and only the underside tanned. Entire skins were used this way in making the robes worn as blankets or used as bedding in everyday settings (Grinnell 1972:1:221; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992: 121-122). This was common practice when warm coverings were needed during the winter months; in the summer months, tanned robes with the hair removed were preferred as blankets and bed covers (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:82; Grinnell 1972:1: 87). Among the Cheyennes, sacks and sewing cases were also made from these skins (Grinnell 1972:218). Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:151) reported that every man, woman, and child needed one to three robes each year for their personal use.

Among the Lakotas, the robes with the fur still attached were also worn for special occasions, such as the courtship trysts of young couples (Walker 1982:51) or for ceremonial events, such as the *Hunka* where female children wore robes made from the skin of a buffalo calf (Curtis 1907-30:3:76, 78, 80; Densmore 1918:77). These robes were also used as coverings and wrappings for the deceased (Curtis 1907-30:3:100-102), and carried by Sun dancers and their leaders (Ibid:3:95; Densmore 1918:125; Walker 1982:97-98). The lodge-makers, priests, and pledgers at Cheyenne Sun Dances also carried bison robes, and warriors donated valuable robes to cover the roof of the Sun Dance lodge (Dorsey, G. 1905:93; Hoebel 1960:15-16). Finally, some were embellished with elaborately painted or quilled designs to signify the prestige and honor of the wearer and worn on public occasions (Ewers 1938:22, 58; Hassrick 1964:191-193; Grinnell 1972:1:159-160).

Bison hair was also removed from the hide and used separately. Among the Lakotas, the hair was attached to the wrist and ankle bands of Sun dancers, and it was worn on the ankles of mothers whose children's ears were pierced during the ceremony (Curtis 1907-30:3:95; Walker 1980:188, 190, 192). The leading officiate of this ceremony wore shed bison hair tied on his head to recall *Pte San Winyan*, the White Buffalo Calf Woman (Brown 1992:123). In the *Hunka* ceremony bunches of bison hair were also ritually used (Curtis 1907-30:3:72, 73, 86; Densmore 1918: 72). The umbilical cords of boys were wrapped in bison hair before being inserted into their lizard-shaped pouches (Densmore

1948:185; Standing Bear 1978:154), and balls used in the "Throwing the Ball Ceremony" were stuffed with bison hair (Curtis 1907-30:3:138; Brown 1992:122). The Cheyennes also incorporated bison hair in ritual ways during some of their ceremonies: the pipe bowls, stems, and tampers used in the Sun Dance were wrapped in bison hair and the ceremonial *Massaum* wheel had tufts of this hair tied to it (Dorsey, G. 1905:74; Grinnell 1972: 2:240-241, 314-315, 318-319).

Bison hair was employed in more practical ways to stuff moccasins, dolls, pillows, war shields, and balls used in games. It was also attached to warbonnets, belts, and horsegear and used to pad saddles and make paint brushes (Grinnell 1972:1:189; Walker 1982: 74, 103; Brown 1992:122). The long hairs from a bull's neck were spun and braided to make lariats and ropes (Walker 1982:74; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89). The Cheyennes took a bison's beard-hair and made brushes to sprinkle water during their sweatlodges (Grinnell 1972:2:133).

Before moving on, a few words need to be written about the special status and use of a white buffalo skin, a rarity and highly revered among the Cheyennes and Lakotas. Among both tribes, when these animals were killed, they could not be touched by the hunter but had to be handled ceremoniously by qualified men who had spiritual partnerships with bison (Densmore 1918: 446; Grinnell 1972:2:202-204). Only those who dreamed of bison were allowed to eat the flesh of this animal (Densmore 1918: 446). According to Densmore (Ibid.), "The skin was not treated like an ordinary buffalo hide." The animal had to be skinned in a special way to prevent the spilling of blood, and only women with certain qualifications were allowed to dress it (Ibid.). This was also true for the Cheyennes whose women had to undertake a special ceremony in order to prepare a white buffalo hide (Grinnell 1972:2:202-204). The Lakotas kept the robes in special rawhide cases (Densmore 1918:446), and they displayed them on certain ceremonial occasions such as the place of honor in a spirit-keeping lodge or the altar of an adoption ceremony. Edward S. Curtis (1909-30:3:110) wrote that at the close of a spirit-keeping ceremony, a white buffalo skin was carried to the north or west and buried in a cave or hole as an offering to *Wakan Tanka*. The Cheyennes did not use these skins in their ceremonies, but they hung them up as offerings to the Sun, *Heammawihio* (Grinnell 1972:1:272, 2:201). In later years, according to Grinnell (1972:1: 273), these hides were not treated with the same respect, sold to white traders and tanned by captive women.

Finally, dried bison dung, popularly known as "buffalo chips," had important practical and ceremonial functions too. First and foremost, "buffalo chips," according to Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:91), "in their natural chunks make good wood." They were used as a popular and widely accessible form of fuel, and when pulverized, as tinder (Densmore 1918:436; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Because of their absorbent properties, buffalo chips were also used in lieu of diapers. As Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:379-380) describes this:

> With diapers, if it is wet, you have to take it off and put on a clean one. But we used buffalo chips [dried dung]. The women packed them--the old [dried] pieces--and used them for diapers. First they powdered them up and put the powder into the skin. Whenever they wanted to change it, they took out the buffalo chips, which had absorbed everything, and the baby was never wet. Of course we greased them, so they were not irritated. Later the women had cloth and would take it and made a little pad and put the powdered buffalo chips in it and use it in that way. Babies were never wet. They used the softest part of a buffalo hide for the diapers.

This practice is also reported for the Arapahos (Trenholm 1970:60). A similar application was described by Standing Bear (1978:118), who wrote that the talcum-like

powder made from buffalo chips was applied to the skin to treat irritations.

Among the Lakotas, buffalo-chips were widely used in ceremonial contexts whenever a pipe was being smoked. At ceremonial altars, pipes were customarily placed on a buffalo-chip for smoking in conjunction with vision seeking, during a communal bison hunt, at a spirit keeping lodge, in the *Hunka*, and during the Sun Dance (Curtis 1907-30:3:66; Densmore 1918:72, 79, 83, 441; Walker 1980:36-37, 76, 77, 103, 180; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:145). Dried and pulverized bison dung was mixed with tobacco to light a pipe, and it was also burned ceremoniously as incense (Curtis 1907-30:3:186). The Cheyennes used bison dung in a wide range of ceremonial contexts as well. The coloring of bison dung, according to John Moore (1974a:171), undergoes a change from bright green to white when exposed to the sun, and this mirrors the yearly transition between the green of summer and the white of winter. In healing ceremonies, pipes rested on a piece of buffalo-chip (Grinnell 1972:2:137). At the Sun Dance, pieces of dried dung were positioned at the points of the sacred root-digger and arrow as well as near the skull (Grinnell 1972:2:238, 245). During the *Massaum*, a piece of bison dung was wrapped in red flannel and placed at the altar next to the skull; the chips were used in other contexts of this ceremony too (Grinnell 1972:2:292, 295, 323, 333). Dried buffalo dung played a part in the ritual preparations for driving pronghorn into pits (Grinnell 1972:1:280). A mound of buffalo chips was placed outside the ceremonial lodge of the Fox Soldiers who ritually surrounded it each morning (Grinnell 1972:2: 57). War parties burnt buffalo chips to celebrate a victory and to purify enemy scalps taken in battle (Grinnell 1972:2:32, 37). And finally, bison dung was used in healing to draw out snake venom (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Bison, as discussed in the text to this report, hold a much-revered place in the tribal cosmologies of the Cheyennes and the Lakotas.

Cosmological Traditions

In Lakota cosmology, there are two benevolent spiritual figures that are represented in the image of a buffalo, *Tatanka* [Bison Bull] and *Pte San Winyan* [White Buffalo Calf Woman]. There is also a dangerous figure, *Gnaskinyan* [Crazy Buffalo], and many lesser spiritual ones envisioned as bison who were part of the *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation], including *Waziya* [Old Man] and *Wakanka* [Old Woman].

Tatanka is a member of the *Tobtob*, one of the sixteen most important figures in the pantheon of Lakota spiritual beings. In James Walker's writings (1980:50-51, 94), he is ranked in a lesser class among the *Wakan kuya* [Lower Sacred] with the Bear, the Four Winds, and the Whirlwind, who all stand below the *Wakan akanta* [Superior Sacred] and the *Wakan kolaya* [Associate Sacred] but above the *Wakanlapi* [Similar to sacred] (Powers, W. 1977:54; Walker 1980: 50-51). *Tatanka* represents the masculine spiritual presence most responsible for provisioning and prosperity and for insuring good health (Black Elk in Brown 1971:72; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Walker 1980:50, 225, 232). Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:121) said that he "presides" over virtue and industry too. Along with *Tate* and *Takuskanskan*, two of the other *Tobtob*, he rules over the hunt (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Walker 1982:75, 76, 91); he is addressed and propitiated in all rituals associated with hunting. He is also considered to be the "chief of all the animals" (Black Elk in Brown 1992:13). Stanley Vestal, in his work (1932:18) on Sitting Bull's life, described why the bull was so revered and admired. He wrote:

> Thus, everyone knew that the buffalo was headstrong, stubborn creature, afraid of

> nothing. It never turned back, never gave up, no matter what the obstacle, but always kept on going ahead, whatever the danger, whatever the weather. In winter, it moved against the wind, even in the bitterest blizzard, seeming to welcome opposition. Once it started in a given direction, nobody could head it off. It was all endurance, headstrong courage, persistence and strength.

Tatanka is also a figure of generosity and positive ceremonial outcomes (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Brown 1992:25). He and other bison figures are believed to be the closest spiritual relatives of humans (Black Elk in Brown 1971:117), and thus, they serve as models of kinship, parental duty, and domestic harmony (Walker 1982:75, 76, 91). *Tatanka* is one of the major spiritual figures addressed during the Lakota *Hunka* ceremony, and it is his spirit who resides in the skull at this and, indeed, all other major Lakota ceremonies. As Takes the Gun remarked (1980:214):

> The spirit of *Tatanka* cares for the family. It cares for the young man or the young woman who should live together. It cares for the woman who lives with a man. It cares for little children. It cares for the hunters. It cares for the growing things (vegetation). It cares for everything that has young.

Tatanka is linked to the fecundity of women and guards over their pregnancies and menstrual cycles (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124), and he is the central spiritual figure appealed to at the *Pte San Lowanpi*, when a young girl enters into womanhood (Black Elk in Brown 1971:116-126; Walker 1980:249). He is also featured in the "Throwing the Ball" Ceremony, which is also connected to female fertility (Black Elk in Brown 1971:133-136). Consistent with this connection is the idea that the bison cow represents motherhood in sacred discourse (Powers, M. 1986:186). Finally, *Tatanka* is a symbol for cosmic regeneration and represents a major figure to whom appeals are made and offerings given during the Sun Dance (Densmore 1918:98-125). He is believed to share in the power of the whirlwind, which is evidenced by the dust formations he kicks up before battling another bull (Wissler 1905:258).

The feminine representation of the bison is a bit more complex. On one and probably an older level, there is a spiritual female bison whose home is under the earth. She controls the game and sometimes marries a human man so that the bison can come to his people. There are many stories in the oral and written traditions of the Lakotas that carry this theme, and they bear a remarkable resemblance to a number of Cheyenne, Arikara, and Kiowa sacred narratives. The Lakota tradition is not as well articulated as it is among these other tribal nations, but when it appears, as discussed elsewhere, it is usually connected to a female bison figure who lives underneath the Black Hills and guards the animals.

In Lakota traditions, a prominent female spiritual figure that comes closest to this understanding is *Wohpe* [Meteor]. In the Lakota creation story, as given to James Walker by George Sword, she is the daughter of *Skan*, the Sky, and comes to earth to live with *Tate*, the Wind, and his sons. She is a mediator and responsible for many creative outcomes, including the making of vegetation and other life forms (Walker 1983:229-244). Later in Lakota cosmological time, she is reincarnated as *Pte San Winyan*, the White Buffalo Calf Woman, who brings the sacred pipe to the Lakotas and advises them in the performance of their seven sacred rituals (Black Elk in Brown 1971:3-9). There are numerous renditions of how she appeared to the Lakotas (Densmore 1918:63-66; Hassrick 1964:217-219; Finger in Walker 1980: 109; Black Elk in Brown 1992; Powers, W. 1977:54; Powers, M. 1986:43-49; Looking Horse 1987: 68-69; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:38-41), but today, as in the past, she remains a supremely important figure, a model of female generosity, nurturance, and everything else that represents the highest virtues of womanhood (Powers, M. 1986:70-72; St. Pierre and

Long Soldier 1995:41-42). She is one of the primary protectors and guardians of humans, and she is appealed to and propitiated in most major ceremonies including the most important of all, the Sun Dance. Walker (1980:232) made the observation: "The council lodge and a large robe with a buffalo cow painted on it signifies that one will be sufficiently esteemed to have an honorable place in the council of the camp and have a large relationship and following."

Gnaskiyan (Crazy Buffalo), in his various forms, represents the spiritual antithesis to the giving and protective qualities of other bison figures in Lakota cosmology (Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124). From the conversation of No Flesh, George Sword, Bad Wound, and Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:94), *Gnaskinyan* is the most feared of the "evil" spiritual beings. He is the grand artist of deception, appearing in a benevolent guise and persuading the people to do terrible things (Little Wound in Walker 1980:67). In the sacred liturgy of the *Pte San Lowanpi*, he is mentioned as a danger to young women, tempting them to defile their chastity (Hassrick 1964:260). He appears throughout the Lakota creation cycle, deceiving the animals, the *Pte Oyate*, and even some of the higher order *Tobtob* (Walker 1983). In some stories, when the White Buffalo Calf Woman's encounters two young men, his devious influence is believed to have caused the lustful emotions and subsequent death of one of them (Finger in Walker 1980:110). He is also impliated in Iron Shell's winter count entry for 1871, the year a buffalo dreamer was fooled when he conducted a ceremony but no bison appeared (Hassrick 1964:310-311). Much like the North Wind, *Waziyata*, or his grandfather, *Waziya*, he is represented as pugnacious, selfish and stingy.

Besides these more personified spiritual images of buffalo, there are many more generalized ideas about the spiritual position of the bison. Notwithstanding variations of interpretation, the spiritualized essence of the bison was closely associated with the procreative powers of the earth (Short Bull in Walker 1980:144; Little Wound in Walker 1980:124; Brown 1992:25;St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110), especially *Maka* [Earth] and *Inyan* [Stone], both of whom rank among the four most sacred spiritual beings in the Lakota pantheon. This connection is made very explicit in the words of the intercessor at a *Hunka* ceremony (Walker 1980:229).

Bison are also linked to the cardinal direction of the north, *Waziyata* [the North Wind] in a multitude of different oral traditions and sacred texts (Curtis 1907-30:3: 68, 111-118, 159; Wissler 1912:19-20; Black Elk in Brown 1971:133; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Walker 1980:232; Powers, W. 1986:139; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995: 163). If not identified with *Waziyata* directly, they are certainly linked to his season, winter (Vestal 1934:109-110; Catches 1990: 136-138). Given this association, they are fundamentally connected to the creation of *ni* [breath] (Curtis 1907-30:3:159; Brown 1992:111-115).

Bison are linked to the underword: their "tipi" or home is located inside the earth and identified with caves (Bushotter in Dorsey, J. 1894:476-477; Little Wound in Walker 1980: 67; Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124). More specifically, they are connected to the cave of *Waziya*, the Old Man (Walker 1917:91), which some Lakotas believe is Wind Cave.

Bison are also closely associated with the Sun, who moves to the underworld at night where he visits with his close bison companion, *Tatanka* (Walker 1917:91; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67). Bison are believed to follow the Sun in their annual migrations and to hold the sun's rays in their hair in the same way that porcupine quills and eagle tail feathers do (Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a:42-43).[2] Finally, the bison is

[2] An interesting sidenote is Sievert Young Bear's interpretation of the word for a "woman" in Lakota, *winyan*, which he states has its etymological origins in

the one animal who stands metaphorically for the entire cosmos (Black Elk in Brown 1971:72). This is true because bison embody the *ton* of the four highest *tobtob*, stone, earth, sun, and sky or motion (and its associate the wind).

The *Pte Oyate* (Buffalo Nation) are the spirits of bison who live under the world. It is worth quoting James Walker's interpretation (1917:91) of them:

> The Buffalo People...have the power to transmogrify and may appear on the world as animals or as mankind, and may mingle with the Lakota and become their spouses. They can transmogrify their spouses and take them to the regions under the world.
>
> The offspring of a buffalo person and a Lakota has the powers of its buffalo parent and controls its other parent. A Lakota espoused to a buffalo person, or having buffalo children, can be freed from their control only by a Shaman whose fetish has the potency of the Buffalo God.

Some Lakotas believe that the original metamorphosis of buffalo people into humans happened at Wind Cave. Originally, the buffalo people were created to act as the messengers of the Lakotas' higher sacred beings, the Earth, *Maka*, the Sky, *Skan*, the Stone, *Inyan*, and the Sun, *Wi*. They appear throughout the Lakota origin cycle after their creation (Walker 1983), and they are specifically referenced in the sacred liturgy of the *Hunka* as kinspeople who come from the underworld where they live in the midst of the Sun during the night (Walker 1980: 229).

In Lakota traditions, *Tatanka* and the *Pte Oyate* are often represented in perpetual conflict with wolves and coyotes, animals also associated with breath and the direction of the North Wind (Tyon in Walker 1980:121). These two animals are depicted as dangerous to humans in sacred liturgical texts associated with fertility and making kin (Walker 1980:222, 229, 231-232, 242, 249). This stands in marked contrast to Cheyenne worldviews where wolves and coyotes are not only seen as companions and helpers to bison, but they also occupy some of the more exalted positions in the Cheyennes' cosmological order.

In Cheyenne worldviews, the animals that come from zones beneath the earth typically occupy a lower spiritual status than the animals associated with the blue sky, notably golden eagles, magpies, and vultures. These and other birds are included among the supreme *maiyun* (Moore, J. 1974a, 1984). Although many animals of the earth are considered sacred and sources of beneficial cosmic power, only bison and wolves are appealed to and propitiated in the context of major Cheyenne ceremonies such as the Animal Dance or the Sun Dance as representatives of the *Maiyun* (thunder, sun, rain, and earth), the highest sacred forces in the universe. Indeed the *maiyun* representing the earth and the thunder generally reveal themselves either through wolf or bison impersonations (Dorsey, G. 1905; Grinnell 1972:2:211-336; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:91-114; Powell 1969:2: 481-858; Schlesier 1987:43-109). Typically most of the spiritualized manifestations of bison appear in a feminized form.

Esceheman [Our Grandmother], the deep spirit of the earth, is associated with animals and is the protector of animal spirits (Powell 1969:2:437; Schlesier 1987:5, 8, 82). Along with the Sun, Thunder, and Rain, she is one of the four central *maiyun* or spiritual potencies of the Cheyenne created by *Ma'heo*, the spiritual power over all (Schlesier 1987:8). Her helpers and the ones through whom she often reveals herself are the badger, buffalo, bear, and wolf. She is the one represented as the white or yellow wolf, *Evevsev honche*, at the *Maussam* ceremony (Schlesier 1987:6, 93-94, 98,121), and she is the one who "grants" and instructs the ceremony (Schlesier 1987:76-80, 82-83, 89-109). She

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the names of the sun, *wi*, and rock, *inyan* (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:103-104). Both of these figures are closely associated with bison, and this may be why bison are often represented in a `feminine form`.

is also believed to have gifted a sacred hat to the Cheyenne. The *Is'siwun*, the Sacred Hat, one of the two most important sacred symbols of the Cheyenne (the other being the Sacred Arrows), is an embodiment of the female spiritual presence of *Esceheman* and the buffalo, or as Father Peter Powell (1969: 2:443) puts it, "the living symbol and source of female power."

Esceheman is also embodied in the sacred buffalo skull at the Sun Dance (Powell 1969:2:335-336, 422, 425, 597) and in the one at the *Massaum* (Schlesier 1987:94-95). The "Sacred Woman" of the Sun Dance may also represent an impersonation of *Esceheman* (Powell 1969:2:448). In this ceremony, she is ritually impregnated by the 'man power,' represented in the image of the Thunder (Powell 1969:2:449-459). When a keeper of the Sacred Hat died, the corpse was placed on a hill and covered by stones surrounded by four buffalo skulls at each of the four cardinal directions. If this was not done, according to Grinnell (1910:567), "the bufffalo would go away to the north -- where they originally came from -- and the range would be deserted. But, if this were done, there would always be plenty of buffalo in the country."

Her daughter, *Ehyophstah* (Yellow Hair on Top Woman), comes from a union with the Thunder, *Nonoma* (represented as a coyote or wolf) (Schlesier 1987:78). She is represented as the figure in the story of Sweet Medicine and his friend's journey to Bear Butte. She is the one who marries the friend and brings the buffalo to his people (Grinnell 1907; Schlesier 1987:76-79), and she is the patroness of one of the Cheyenne sweatlodges (Schlesier 1987:62). *Ehyophstah* is also an important figure in the *Massaum* where she represented the 'Master of the Animals' and the *Voh'kis* 'Blue Star,' impersonated in the form of a Kit-Fox (Schlesier 1987:12, 84, 104-109). The timing of the *Massaum* was tied to the rising of the blue star of summer dawn, Rigel, that rose midway between Aldebran, representing *Ma'heone Honehe*, the Red Wolf or *Nonoma*, and Sirius signifying *Evevsev Honche*, the Horned Wolf or *Esceheman* (Schlesier 1987:82-83). The *maiyun* who stand for the Above Powers, the masculine spiritual essence, appear in the guise of birds. Since the *Maiyun* are represented in stars, female procreative figures such as *Esceheman* and *Ehyophstah* have a dual positioning and exist simultaneously as earth and celestial figures. Even though the Cheyennes symbolically represent bison in a predominately female form, it is the bison bull that "talked to them" (Grinnell 1972: 2:104). Whatever this means, and Grinnell doesn't elaborate upon on it, the bison is the supreme symbol of the family, fecundity, and regeneration as it is among the Lakotas. It is associated primarily with the subterranean world where the *maiyun* keep their home in a cave underneath Bear Butte, but it also has celestial linkages to other *Maiyun* including the Sun.

The Buffalo People representing the spiritualized component of the materialized bison were the ones against whom humans raced in the Black Hills, and they are often interchangeably identified with the Suhtaio division of the Cheyenne nation and their culture hero, Stands on the Ground or Erect Horns, who is most closely associated with the origin of the Sun Dance. The Suhtaio are also connected with an older, buffalo ceremony tied to healing and the sweatlodge (Grinnell 1919; Anderson 1956; Powell 1969:324-327, 341, 343, 344, 388, 408).

Finally, the Cheyennes have a figure remarkably similar to the Lakotas' Crazy Buffalo, known as *Histowunini'hotu'a* [The Double-toothed bull] or *Hestovonenehota*, who was male and known to eat people (Petter 1913-15:193; Grinnell 1972:2:99). He was probably modeled after the actual behavior and pugnacity of bulls that are known to suddenly charge humans, especially during the rutting season in June and July (Grinnell 1972:1:269). In the Cheyennes' *Massaum* Ceremony, the Black Buffalo impersonators often charge the Con-

traries in imitation of bison bull behavior (Grinnell 1972:2:330, 334).

Bison Dreamers

In both Lakota and Cheyenne traditions, men and women who were visited and gifted by bison were highly esteemed and often played important roles in their communities as successful hunters, highly revered healers, and respected officiates at major ceremonies (Hassrick 1964:237).

For the Lakotas, bison dreamers, *Tatanka Ihanblapi*, were among the most revered of those with spiritual partnerships with animals. Men, and sometimes women, who dreamed of bison once held special dance performances to demonstrate their powers (Wissler 1912:91). They painted targets on their backs which people shot at to reveal their spiritual power to deflect arrows or, if wounded, to demonstrate their healing skills (Wissler 1912:91; Hassrick 1964:239). Their ability to avoid being wounded was one of their trademarks (Densmore 1918:173-176). They wore bison skins with heads and horns attached, they lived in black painted tipis, and in their dances, they imitated the actions of bison (Curtis 1907-30:3:63, 139; Densmore 1918:285; Hassrick 1964:144, 239; Standing Bear 1978:141-142; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:7, 88-89, 240-241).

The Lakotas often tied success in hunting to dream and visionary encounters with bison (Little Wound in Walker 1980:68), and the men who had these experiences painted a red circle on the middle of their chest to signify this (Walker 1980:281). These men often served as "buffalo callers," and they were the ones who presided over the *wana-sapi* [communal bison hunt] (Hassrick 1964: 187, 253, 310-311). Some of the men with dreams of bison formed special associations, one of which was called the *Tatanka Wah-pahun* [Buffalo Headdress] Society. Also known as the Big Bellies, its members wore buffalo hair caps with horns and special bison skins (Walker 1982:35). Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:25) speculates that when the men of this society sat in a circle, adorned in their buffalo robes and headdresses, they were imitating bison bulls that encircled calves when they were attacked by wolves. There was also another society associated with men who had dreamed of the White Buffalo. Known as the White Decorated Society or White Marked Society, the members of this group carried bows and arrows to feasts and dances where "they shot arrows into the sky and the earth" to defy the powers of *Inyan* [Stone] and *Wakinyan* [Thunder] (Sword in Walker 1980:101; Wissler 1912:34-36).

Among the Lakotas, there were strong associations between bison, herbal medicine, and healing. Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980: 153) that men who dreamed of buffalo "knew about the medicines and all other things for doctoring." Indeed, James Walker (1980:62) claimed that these dreamers were considered to be the "most reputable" healers. Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:128-129) recounted one of his visions of the buffalo that reveals this connection:

> As I looked down upon the people, there stood on the north side a man painted red all over his body and he had with him a lance (Indian spear) and he walked into the center of the sacred nation's hoop and lay down and rolled himself on the ground and when he got up he was a buffalo standing right in the center of the nation's hoop. The buffalo rolled and when he got up there was an herb there in his place…After the buffalo's arrival the people looked better and then when the buffalo turned into an herb, the people all got up and seemed to be well. Even the horses got up and stretched themselves and neighed. Then a little breeze came from the north and I could see that the wind was in the form of a spirit and as it went over the people all the dead things came to life. All the horses pulled up their tails and neighed and began to prance around.
>
> The spirit said: 'Behold you have seen the powers of the north in the form of man, buffalo, herb and wind. The people shall follow the man's steps; like him they shall

> walk and like the buffalo they shall live and with the herb they shall have knowledge. They shall be like relatives to the wind.' [From the man in the illustration they should be healthy, from the buffalo they shall get meat, from the herb they shall get knowledge of diseases. The North wind will give them strong endurance].

Women also received healing powers from bison spirits (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:134-135).

Among the Cheyennes, dreams of bison gave men protection in war, assistance in hunting,[3] and/or the gift of healing (Grinnell 1919; Anderson 1956; Powell 1969: 1:324-327, 341, 343, 344, 388, 408; Grinnell 1972:1:196,151; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:34). Some of the shamans who were able to call "game" and properly propitiate them had partnerships with bison spirits associated with *Esceheman*. The *Vonhaom*, a sweatlodge, whose origin is tied to bison, was largely run by buffalo dreamers associated with the Suhtaio division (Anderson 1956; Powell 1969:1: 341-344; Grinnell 1972:2:104; Schlesier 1987:15-16, 52-58). Cheyenne bison dreamers also exhibited their powers in public, but they appear to have done so in more solitary ways (Grinnell 1972:2:145). The two contexts that were an exception to this were the ceremonies of the Buffalo Society, *Otu-a-ta'-ni-o* (Hayden 1862b:281; Anderson 1956) and the *Massaum* where bison dreamers impersonated the bison in the animal "hunt" (Grinnell 1972:334-335).

Ceremonial Observances

In both Lakota and Cheyenne traditions, many of the people who had spiritual partnerships with bison also occupied important positions in these nations' ceremonial observances. Among the Lakotas, male shamans who acted as the chief intercessors over many major ceremonies were bison dreamers, and they were the ones who sang over the participants or prayed on their behalf (Hassrick 1964:253; Tyon in Walker 1980: 153; Walker 1980:249; Powers, W. 1986: 185). The *Hunka Lowanpi* [Making Relatives Sing], the *Pte San Lowanpi* [White Buffalo Sing] and the *Tapawanka Yeyapi* [Throwing the Ball] are three of the ceremonies where the bison is the most important spiritual benefactor, and all of these are described in great length in a number of other sources (Densmore 1918; Hassrick 1964; Walker 1980). Some bison dreamers also presided over Spirit-Keeping rites, *Wanagi cagapi* (Densmore 1918: 77-83).

The *Wiwanyan Wacipi*, the Sun Dance, was also usually led by men with spiritual connections to bison. Men with bison power were the ones who led the Buffalo Dance and blessed the feast on the day the center tree was felled (Hassrick 1964: 242). From the nineteenth century to the present, the Sun Dance remains the Lakotas' holiest religious observance, a major ceremony of renewal and regeneration. Its conduct and performance are written about at great length in many different sources (Densmore 1918:84-151; Walker 1917, 1980; Mails 1978; Catches 1990), and this does not need to be repeated other than to review some of its major relations to bison.

The Sun Dance is held during the first full moon of summer at the time Juneberries or chokecherries are ripening and when the sage is fresh and in full bloom (Densmore 1918:98). It is performed over a four day period, which starts with the felling of the sacred cottonwood tree that serves as a center pole for the dance. Symbolically, the capture of the tree mimics a battle where scouts find it and warriors/hunters attack it. After virgins cut it down, the tree is taken to the dance area in the center of the circle. A hole is dug and offerings are put there before the tree is erected (Catches 1990:112). West of the sacred tree is an altar and behind this is a bed of sage upon which the bison skull containing the spirit of *Tatanka* rests. A

[3] John Moore, J. (1974a:239) argues that the spiritual power from bison only enabled its holders to locate the animal not to kill them. Power to hunt came from wolves and coyotes.

rawhide buffalo hangs on the center tree, indicating symbolically that humans have been given spiritual assistance to conquer this animal on whose behalf offerings are given and sacrifices are made during the dance. As Black Elk told Brown (1971:72) in regards to the bison bull:

> He represents the people and the universe and should always be treated with respect, for was he not here before the two-legged peoples, and is he not generous in that he gives us our homes and our food? The buffalo is wise in many things, and, thus, we should learn from him and should always be as a relative with him.

A major focus of this ritual involves the propitiation of the bison, the central figure in Lakota cosmology that brings prosperity, harmony, and good health to the people.

This is also true in relation to the Cheyenne Sun Dance, the *Oxheheom* [The New Life Lodge], where offerings and propitiations are made to the spiritual presence of *Esceheman*, whose spirit rests in the buffalo skull placed in the Lone Tipi (Dorsey, G. 1905: 91, 97; Hoebel 1960:13; Schlesier 1987:3). The Lone Tipi ceremonies are performed in preparation for the public phase of the ceremony. At these ceremonies, the assistant Chief Priest and the Lodge Maker smoke a sacred pipe to bring the bison to them (Dorsey, G. 1905:100), and other rituals are performed to symbolize their regeneration (Hoebel 1960:15; Powell 1969:2:614-645). After the sacred tree, representing the life of the people, is located, felled, and brought to the lodge, an altar is prepared which recreates the Cheyennes' image of a prosperous universe with abundant bison and plants, the presence of sunshine, rainbows and good sprits, and a people with good health and the ability to vanquish their enemies (Hoebel 1960:14; Powell 1969:646-684). During the dance itself, the Cheyennes engage in acts of suffering and self-sacrifice, which includes inserting skewers into the back and shoulders to which rawhide ropes are tied and buffalo skulls hung. Men drag these skulls around the dance area or dance with them in place on their backs (Dorsey, G. 1905:176; Grinnell 1972:2:211). This and other acts of offering are intended to seek the spiritual benevolence necessary to renew the world and the lives of the people. The dance ends with a race to the four directions and the homes or pillars of the four sacred *Ma'heyuno* (Powell 1969:2:841-852). Although this ceremony is linked to bison and female generative powers, it is dedicated to *Ma'heo* who represents the supreme male spiritual figure in the Cheyenne cosmos (Moore, J. 1996a:225-226). There are many accounts of the Cheyenne Sun Dance. For further and more detailed descriptions of dances held at the turn of the twentieth century, the best sources are George Dorsey (1905) and George Bird Grinnell (1972:2: 211-284). The best accounts of modern dances are found in Rev. Peter Powell (1969:2:611-855) and John Moore's works (1996a: 221-229).

A second major ceremony where bison symbolism played a prominant role is the *Maussam*, which Grinnell (1972:2:287) claimed was associated with the Cheyennes' arrival on the plains in the country of the buffalo. This ceremony, which is no longer practiced, reveals the dual positioning of bison as game animals and spiritual beings in Cheyenne cosmology. In the dance, bison are represented among the animals that are symbolically hunted by the Contraries with the assistance of wolves and foxes. They are the "grass" and "black" buffalo who symbolize ordinary game animals, but they are also represented as a female generative force whose spiritual presence resides in the bison skull placed on the altar (Grinnell 1972:2:330-334). In this ceremony, which is described in greater detail in the discussion on wolves, the buffalo skull was placed in a bed dug in the ground because originally the bison came out of the earth. Grinnell (1972:2:296) states that this is a reference to the bison's emergence after the visit of their two culture heroes to the old woman in the hill, *Esceheman.* More than that, according to Karl

Schlesier (1987:7), the ceremony reenacts the creation of the world and all of its life forms that lead up to the ritual hunt where humans slay the game on whose lives they depend.

In concluding, it cannot be emphasized enough how much the bison was revered by the Cheyennes and Lakotas, not only in a practical way as source of food, shelter, and medicine, but, spiritually, as a presence that embodied a good, healthy, and productive life. Even though bison disappeared as a principal source of food for the Cheyennes and Lakotas, they continued to be regarded as a pivotal part of their cultural traditions and identities and central to their religious life as well.

Bighorn Sheep [*Ovis canadensis auduboni*]

Habitat and History

Bighorns were closely associated with the Black Hills by early traders. In 1804, the French *engage* La Paige reported to Lewis and Clark that he had seen bighorn sheep in the Black Hills near the Little Missouri River (Moulton 1983-87:6:338), and the trader Jon Vallé also told them of their presence in the Hills (Ibid:3:133-135). Another *engage*, Gueneville, described how bighorns migrated annually from the Missouri River to their winter homes in the Black Hills (Ibid:3:179-180). Nearly thirty years later, Maxmillian, Prince of Wied (in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347) noted that Hidatsas regularly traveled towards the Black Hills to hunt bighorns. And in the 1850s, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:6) and Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:150) mentioned their presence in the Hills and neighboring badland regions. Although once a very abundant species in the Black Hills and adjoining grasslands, they declined precipitously during the last decades of the nineteenth century (Grinnell 1972:1:277; Seton 1929:2:535; Turner 1974:147), and only a few small herds survived in the area (Turner 1974:147-148). After they disappeared, they were reintroduced at Custer National Park from locales outside the region. They now occupy the more remote and higher elevation locations of this park, although sometimes they appear at Wind Cave National Park (Froiland 1978:145; Turner 1974:148).

Tribal Taxonomy

The Lakotas call bighorns *cinskayapi* [to make horn spoons] or *hecinskayapi* (Buechel 1970:132, 664). The Cheyennes know them as *kosa* or *kosane* (Petter 1913-15: 131; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:98).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Bighorn sheep were highly valued as food and for their hides and horns (Bordeaux 1929:126; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Grinnell 1972:1: 272, 277; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Hoebel 1960: 64; Brown 1997:17). Historically, bighorn were not only numerous, but, according to George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:272), docile enough to kill easily with arrows. Beyond this remark, little is recorded in the historic or ethnographic record about Lakota and Cheyenne methods for hunting them, although three sources (Vestal 1934:161-162; Grinnell 1972:1:277; Powell 1981:1: 112;) mention that they were hunted in the Black Hills and around Bear Butte.

The hides of bighorn sheep were much in demand because of their fineness. They were used in making garments for men and women. Among the Cheyennes, their skins were used in making dresses and leggings for women and war shirts for men (Grinnell 1972:1:217,221).The Cheyennes also used their fleece to stuff pillows to sit on (Petter 1913-15:131). The Oglalas made the skins into articles of clothing, especially war shirts (White Bull in Vestal 1934:162). *Hanskaska* Society members wore shirts with the dew claws of these animals still attached

(Wissler 1912:39; Walker 1982:101; Brown 1992: 17).

The horns of the bighorn were highly valued by both tribes for making spoons and ladles (Petter 1913-15:131; Hoebel 1960: 62; Grinnell 1972:1:211; Standing Bear 1975:22). Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:292) reported that some of the horn ladles were capable of holding as much as a quart of water. In addition, the Cheyennes used their horns in making bows and in manufacturing arrow-straighteners (Curtis 1907-30:6:156; Grinnell 1972:1:174,179; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27). The Arikaras were also reported to have made bows from the horns as well (Bradbury 1966:159). Cheyenne Contraries ate and drank from special dishes carved out of the horns of these animals (Grinnell 1972:1:85).

Symblic and Spirtual Significance

Among the Lakotas, bighorn sheep were a source of visionary power and the people who dreamed of them, *Hecinskayapi Ihanblapi*, were believed to hold powerful war medicines (Wissler 1912:95; Powers, W. 1977:59). One Oglala told James Owen Dorsey (1894:497):

> Goats are very mysterious, as they walk on cliffs and other high places; and those who dream of goats or have revelations from them imitate their actions. Such men can find their way up and down cliffs, the rocks get soft under their feet, enabling them to maintain a foothold, but they close up behind them, leaving no trace.

A number of Lakotas were known to have dreamed of these sheep, but whether they gathered together for special ceremonial performances of the kind associated with elk and deer dreamers is unclear (Wissler 1912: 95). The Cheyennes considered them "half mysterious," and they were animals with which people might enter into spiritual partnerships (Petter 1913-15:131).

THE CERVID FAMILY [*CERVIDAE*]

There are three species of the family *Cervidae* at Wind Cave National Park, elk or wapiti[4] [*Cervus canadensis canadensis*], mule deer [*Odocoileus hemionus hemionus*], and whitetail deer [*Odocoileus virginianus dacotensis*]**.** In the 1850s, Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:149) reported that elk were most numerous in areas west of Fort Union on the Missouri, while mule deer were common everywhere but one of their favorite haunts was the Cheyenne River. He also pointed out that mule deer rarely frequented the open prairies, preferring rugged and hilly locations along streams instead. He noted that because of unusually severe winters in the 1850s, whitetail deer were hardly seen in their timbered riparian habitats. In 1874, Grinnell (1875:78-79) reported seeing numerous whitetail deer, and mule deer, especially in the rugged foothills on the northern side of the Black Hills. He sighted a small number of red deer[5] and a few elk, but he also remarked that throughout the Hills there was much evidence that elk existed in large numbers. All of these species have value in European American game hunting traditions, and historically, they were taken for their meat and hides by early trappers, miners, and settlers in the Black Hills (Turner 1974:137; Sundstrom, J. 1977:105, 1994:68; Friggens 1983:88-89). Their popularity as food and the commercial value of their skins threatened the survival of some species. Indeed, elk were extirpated from the region in the late nineteenth century, and mule deer populations experienced a serious

[4] Coincidentally, the word *wapiti* has a sensible translation in the Dakota and Lakota language; it means "to dwell with luck" (Riggs 1968:195, 467, 533; Beuchel 1970:548).

[5] Red deer (*Cervus virginianus*) were commonly distinguished from whitetail deer (*Cervus Leccrus*) in the early writings of European Americans, and they were certainly separate in the zoological nomenclatures of local tribes. Although they are now considered to be of the same species, Grinnell (1875:78) reported that traders and hunters in the area noted that the whitetail found in the Black Hills were much smaller than those located along the Missouri River.

decline in their numbers. Only whitetail deer held their own in the face of private and market-oriented hunting (Turner 1974:136-140).

For the Lakotas and Cheyennes, the three species of *Cervidae* provided an important source of food and also skins for clothing. They were hunted primarily from the late fall through the early months of spring, and they were probably taken as much as bison during this time of the year (Densmore 1918:447; Hassrick 1964:154-155). Next to bison and pronghorn, elk and deer were major sources of meat for the Lakotas who lived near the Black Hills (Ewers 1938:17; Hassrick 1964:164).

Elk or Wapati [*Cervus canadensis canadensis*]

Habitat and History

Historically, elk were closely and specifically associated with the Black Hills. In fact, this was the location where local tribes were often reported to hunt the animal, with some traveling from locations as far away as the Missouri and Platte Rivers to do so (Moulton 1983-87:3:482; Denig in Ewers 1961:5-6; Maximilian in Thwaites 1966:22: 346-347; Mallery 1987:117; Bettelyoun and Wagonner 1988:21). Some explorers reported the Hills were rich in elk (Dodge 1965: 123; Progulske 1974:122; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974:69), but by the end of the nineteenth century, they were hunted to extinction. An early settler in the area of Wind Cave National Park, Fannie McAdam (1973:17), recalled seeing lots of antlers in the area but not the animal itself. Elk were reintroduced at Custer State Park in 1914 and two years later in 1916 at Wind Cave National Park (Turner 1974:136).

Tribal Taxonomy

In the Lakota language, the male elk is called *hehaka* and the female, *unpan* (Buechel 1970:171, 507). The Cheyenne name for elk is *mo?ehe* (Petter 1913-15:431; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:37).

Modes of Procurement Preparation, and Use

Elk meat was an important food for Lakotas and Cheyennes (Bordeaux 1929:126; Marquis 1931:90; Ewers 1938:17; Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:164; Grinnell 1972:1:257; Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9). Few details have been reported, however, on the Lakotas' methods of securing them (Ewers 1938:45), although Stanley Vestal (1934: 160-161) learned from White Bull that they were stalked and surrounded on foot. The Lakotas' Cheyenne and Arapaho allies caught them in rawhide snares or drove them over cliffs and banks (Trenholm 1970:65; Grinnell 1972:1:273-276). In fact, at a location just west of the Black Hills, there is a cliff over which the Arapahos were known to drive elk (Grinnell 1972: 1:276). Like other ruminant species, they tended to follow well-established trails, which made them easy to hunt with driving methods (Grinnell 1972:1:277; Turner 1974: 137). According to George Grinnell (1972: 1:277), it was the Arapahos' "practice to carry the horns of the animals to a great pile of elk horns already heaped up and add them to it, so that at length there was an immense pile of these antlers." In his journal from the Black Hills Expedition, William Ludlow (1875:17) made note of a one these piles near Reynold's Prairie, also known as Elkhorn Prairie, and Grinnell (1875:78), who also accompanied the expedition as a naturalist, gave some details of its appearance when he wrote:

> On Elkhorn Prairie we came upon a collection of horns gathered together by the Indians. Three lodge-poles had been set up in the ground so as to form a tripod, and supported by these was a pile of horns 8 to 10 feet high. The horns had all been shed and had apparently been collected from the surrounding prairie and heaped up here by the Indians.

As in the case of bison hunting, Lakota men played a game of chance, known as *Woskate hehaka* [Game of Elk] that involved the use of a hoop or *cangleska* and two players. The game was usually played while men were out hunting for this animal, and it was believed to bring success to the hunt (Walker 1905:286-287). Although hoop games were also played by the Cheyennes, they were not linked to any kind of hunting in ethnographic sources (Grinnell 1972:320-324). They are explicitly connected to this activity in some of their stories, however (Grinnell 1926).

Elk hides were highly valued for their durability and suppleness (Standing Bear 1988: 59). After the hair was removed, elk skins were soft tanned by the Lakotas to make moccasins, breechclouts, shirts, leggings, belts, and gowns for everyday wear as well as garments worn on ceremonial occasions. The tanned hides also served as highly valued saddle skirts, shield covers, and receptacles for holding various objects and belongings (Walker 1982:101, 103, 104; Lyford 1940:33). The Lakotas also used elk skins for drumheads (Young Bear and Thiez 1995:47), and they made sashes from them worn by certain officers of the *Miwatani* society (Wissler 1912:46). The Arapahos and Cheyennes used elk hides for their garments and other purposes too (Trenholm 1970:65; Grinnell 1972:1:274).

Elk have two ivory canine teeth that were highly prized by the Lakotas and other tribes because they symbolized longevity. Shooter, a Lakota, told Francis Densmore (1992:176):

> In observing the carcass of an elk it is found that the teeth remain after everything else has crumbled to dust. These teeth will last longer than the life of a man, and for that reason the elk tooth has become the emblem of long life. We desire long life for our friends and ourselves. When a child is born its parents desire long life for it, and for this reason an elk tooth is given to a child if its parents can afford the gift.

These teeth often decorated the deer or pronghorn skin bodices of Lakota women's dresses (Standing Bear 1978:102, 188; Walker 1982:52). The Cheyenne also adorned women's dresses with elk teeth, they fringed leggings with them and made necklaces out of them as well (Curtis 1907-30:6:156; Grinnell 1972:1:221, 223). So valuable were the teeth of the elk that the Cheyennes were willing to trade a good horse for one hundred of them (Grinnell 1972:1:224).

The Cheyennes and the Lakotas preferred elkhorn for making fleshers used to scrape hides (Grinnell 1972:1:213; Densmore 1948: 173; Standing Bear 1975:19). Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:25), a Cheyenne woman, tells how valuable these were among her people:

> This hide-scraper I have is made from the horn of an elk my husband killed just after we were married. He cut off the smaller prongs and polished the main shaft. The Indian men of the old times commonly made this kind of present to their young wives. Besides using them in tanning, the women made marks on them to keep track of the ages of their children. The five rows of notches on this one are the age-records of my five children. Each year I have added a notch to each row, for the living ones. Any time, I can count up the notches and know the age of any of my children. Throughout the seventy-four years it has always been a part of my most precious pack. There were times when I had not much else. I was carrying it in my hands when my husband was killed on the upper Powder River. It was tied to my saddle while we were in flight from Oklahoma. It was in my little pack when we broke out from the Fort Robinson prison. It has never been lost. Different white people have offered me money for it. I am very poor, but such money does not tempt me. When I die, this gift from my husband will be buried with me.

The Cheyennes used elkhorn to knap flint, and they made fleshers from the leg bones of elk (Curtis 1907-30:6:156). They some-

times made bows from elkhorn as well (Grinnell 1972:1:173-174; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27), but there is no evidence of this use among the Lakotas. The Lakotas fashioned the porous portion of an elkhorn into implements for applying their paints (Walker 1982:100), and they made the pommels for their saddles from this horn (Densmore 1948:195). They also used fragments of elk bone in their remedies for treating broken and fractured bones (Densmore 1918:252-253; Bordeaux 1929:157). Finally, elk grease was mixed with skunk musk to treat colds and other respiratory disorders (Bordeaux 1929:109).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The Lakotas held the elk in high regard and considered it among the most *wakan* of the animals (Walker 1980:101). Luther Standing Bear (1988:58) describes Lakota attitudes in this way:

> In his native state the elk has a very proud and independent manner. He walks about among his herd as if there is nothing in the sky nor on the earth that is his equal. And the others of the herd seem to think so too. Even when feeding, he never seems to forget his dignity. With every mouthful of food, up goes his head as he watches over his herd. The elk has a peculiar whistle, and whenever he wishes to get together a straying herd, he gives this whistle and all will run to him. When the herd is again clustered about him, he walks away contentedly, all the females jostling and pushing one another to get next to him. There is no doubt as to his position as leader of his herd.

The male elk was admired for its strength, endurance, and courage, but especially for its ability to attract and protect members of the opposite sex (Wissler 1905:261-266; Fire and Erdoes 1972:143; Brown 1992: 16; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110). Indeed, the *ton* of the elk is believed to preside over sexual relationship, passion, and desire (Blish 1964:199; Standing Bear 1978: 216; Walker 1980:121; Walking Bull 1980: 18-19). In understanding the elk's qualities, it is worthwhile to quote Clark Wissler (1905:261), who said:

> The elk is taken as the incarnation of the power over females, the real (i.e., physical) elk is regarded only as the recipient of such power. The power itself is conceived of in the nature of an abstraction similar to our conception of force. The fact that the elk seems to act in conformity with the laws governing this power is taken as evidence of its existence. Then the idea of the Indian is that the elk possesses the knowledge necessary to the work of the power. Thus a mythical, or hypothetical elk, becomes the teacher of man.

Much of the symbolism associated with the elk represented the epitome of Lakota ideas of maleness and manhood, and as a result, the elk was a favorite animal for young men to emulate. As Shooter told Densmore (1918:176):

> The best part of a man's life is between the ages of 18 and 33. Then he is at his best. He has the strength and ability to accomplish his aims. He is brave to defend himself and others and is free to do much good. He is kind to all, especially to the poor and needy. The tribe looks to him as a defender, and he is expected to shield the women. His physical strength is at its best. He is light on his feet and can reduce long distances to short ones. He is taught true politeness and is very gallant. What animal has these traits more than any other? It is the elk, which is the emblem of beauty, gallantry, and protection. The elk lives in the forest and is in harmony with all his beautiful surroundings. He goes easily through the thickets, notwith-standing his broad branching horns.

In many ways, the elk stood metaphorically as an embodiment of *Itokagata*, the South Wind, also connected with love and romance. Like *Itokagata*, the elk is associated with the flute, with the crane, and with the Whirlwind, *Yumni*, although in some visionary contexts the elk is linked to the East Wind too (Wissler 1905; Hassrick 1964:116, 146; Densmore 1918: 176-178; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:119, 126, 218;

Powers, W. 1986:139). In Brave Buffalo's vision, the direction from which the elk is revealed to him is southeast, symbolized simultaneously by the appearance of the crane and the crow (Densmore 1918:178). In Black Elk's visions, the elk is linked to the East, but it also stands on the same good road as bison, typically associated with the North (in DeMallie 1984:114-115, 119, 127, 218). In a *Yuwipi* song, a relationship is established with an elk in the direction of the East (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163). It is also tied to the butterfly, which in some contexts is associated with the West and the Thunders (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:25-27). The multidirectionality of the elk is probably tied to *Yumni*, the Whirlwind, and it may be linked to what early naturalists called the elk's "circle dance," where elk are reported to rapidly trot behind each other in a circular formation, kicking up dust that appears like a "whirlwind" (Seton 1929:2: 42).

Men who dreamed of elk painted their lodges yellow with designs that symbolized this animal (Hassrick 1964:187; Standing Bear 1978:216; Densmore 1918:176-178). These men received songs, playing special flute music to reveal their spiritual gifts (Densmore 1918:293-298; Hassrick 1964:116, 146; Young Bear & Thiez 1994:25-27). They had knowledge of plants, including *hehaka tojawote* (wild bergamot), used in treatments for various ailments including those that pertained to female illnesses but also applied as "love" potions[6] to attract members of the opposite sex (Densmore 1918:178-179; Hassrick 1964:114, 116; Wissler 1912:88; Fire and Erdoes 1972:165; Standing Bear 1978:217; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110; Young Bear and Theiz 1995:25). Their power, however, gave them an aversion to grasshoppers and the toenails of birds (Walker 1980:135-136). According to Densmore (1918:272), one of Sitting Bull's spiritual partners was an elk, and it was also a helper to his nephew, White Bull (Vestal 1934:93-94).

The circle is emblematic of the elk: men who dreamed of elk wore a hair ornament consisting of a small hoop wound with porcupine quills and a downy white eagle feather suspended from the center (Densmore 1918:179). They also carried a sacred hoop on their shoulder that symbolized the rainbow (Densmore 1918:295-296). Elk dreamers, *Hehaka inhanblapi*, were obligated to carry out an elk ceremony reminding the people of "the source of life and the mystery of growing," impersonating their spiritual benefactors in public performances (Wissler 1912:86). They wore a black mask with hide antlers wrapped in otter skins (Standing Bear 1988: 216). The elk ceremony or *Hehaka kaga* and the groups of men who performed it have been described in a variety of sources, and these do not need to be detailed any further here (Wissler 1912: 85-88; Densmore 1918:293; Powers, W.1977:57-58,1986:184-185; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984;242-244; Standing Bear 1988:216-217; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:25-27).

The Cheyennes also viewed the elk with considerable reverence, although its symbolic meanings are not as fully detailed in the ethnographic literature. Elk were seen to have a strong power, which like the deer's had good as well as evil ends. They were greatly admired for their ability to endure and escape capture (Grinnell 1972:2:104; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Their antlers were considered highly sacred (Dorsey, G. 1905:19). Men who dreamt of elk found their spiritual gifts to be of great assistance (Grinnell 1972:2:104). The Cheyennes had a military society called the *Himoweyuhkis*, Elk-Scrapers, who carried a piece of elk horn in the image of a snake (Grinnell 1972:2:57-62). This created a sound capable of being transmitted over long distances, and it was used to attract game to camp when food was needed. The members of this society also carried rattles made of the elk's dew claws (Dorsey, G.

[6] The bergamot was mixed with extracts from various parts of the elk's body (Fire and Erdoes 1972:165).

1905:18-19). According to Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:56), the Elk-Scrapers were one of the three most important soldier societies among the Cheyennes. In the Cheyenne Sun Dance, a pair of elk effigies, along with figures of bison, deer, and pronghorn, were fashioned by children out of mud and placed at the base of the Sun Dance's center pole in remembrance of the Great Race story and the animals that Sweet Medicine and Erect Horns brought from the earth (Dorsey, G. 1905:49). At one time, the Cheyennes had a special Elk Ceremony, called *Mo'hetanio*, where their elk benefactors were impersonated, but this appears to have fallen into disuse (Hayden 1862b: 281). In later years, these impersonations were performed on the fifth day of the Cheyennes' *Massaum* ceremony (Grinnell 1972:2:335-336). In the dance, the "animal" men representing all of the important species in the Cheyenne universe danced around and then entered an enclosure where they were "hunted" by members of the Bowstring Society (the Contrary Warriors) (Hoebel 1960:17). Also the Cheyennes did not link elk to romantic attraction in the same way the Lakotas did: many attributes the Lakotas associate with the elk, the Cheyennes identify with deer.

Deer
[*Odocoileae* spp.]

Blacktail
(Odocoileus hemionus hemionus)

Whitetail
Odocoileus vriginianus dacotensis)

Habitat & History

Two species of deer, mule (or blacktail) [*Odocoileus hemionus hemionus*] and whitetail [*Odocoileus virginianus dacotensis*] are found in the Black Hills. At the start of the nineteenth century, according to Tabeau (in Abel 1939:76, 87), deer were very common near the Black Hills along the upper reaches of the White and Cheyenne rivers. Mule deer remained abundant especially in the southern Hills in later decades, but they were nearly hunted to extinction at the end of the nineteenth century because of market demands for their hides (Progulske 1974: 122; Turner 1974:137). Eventually, South Dakota, like other states in the region passed game laws to limit their take, and even closed hunting in 1925 so that the local population could recover. In time, their numbers rebounded. Today, over-population is a major problem facing herds of mule deer in the Black Hills (Turner 1974). As reported in various historical writings, whitetail deer were as numerous as mule deer in the late nineteenth century, especially in the more forested sections of the northeastern Hills. Indeed, large numbers of whitetail, also known as red deer because of their rusty coloration in the summer, were killed by the expeditionary parties traveling the region in the 1870s. Dodge's party was estimated to have killed nearly a thousand deer for food while they traveled the Hills, and Custer's forces reportedly killed one hundred in a single day (Progulske 1974: 122). In later years, miners feasted on the deer too, and in one report, over twenty carcasses were seen hanging at an isolated mining camp in the winter of 1876 (Parker, W. 1965:83, 149). Some even earned a livelihood from hunting and selling deer meat to fellow miners and commercial establishments (Ibid.). Early residents of the Wind Cave National Park region remembered deer as the only ungulates in the area at the end of the nineteenth century (McAdam 1973: 17; Smith, A. 1973:16). Even though settlers and miners heavily hunted whitetail deer, there is no evidence that they faced extermination like the mule deer (Turner 1974:139).

Tribal Taxonomy

The Lakotas had many different names for deer which are not only sex and age specific, as in *tabloka* [buck] and *tawiyela* [doe], or *tacincala* [fawn], *hekaza* [a yearling deer with one horn], and *tahejata* [a two year old deer with two prongs] (Buechel 1970:172,

472, 473, 485) but also reflect a recognition of variability within and between species. *Tahca* is the generic name for deer (Ibid: 474) with particular species distinguished as follows: the whitetail is known as *sintehanska* [long tail] (Ibid:454) or *sinteluluyapi* [red-tail which probably refers to the color of their coats in the summertime] (Ibid:455), and the blacktail or mule deer as *sintesapela* [black tail]. Two other terms *sintewaksapi* [bob tail] (Ibid:455) and *tahca itopasapa* [black faced] marked unique features of individual animals within these species. This last deer, which appears with a black streak across its face, is believed to be *wakan* (Ibid:474). V*aotseva* [bob tail raised] is the generic name for deer in Cheyenne. Blacktail are called *moktaevasevavaozeva* and white (or yellow tail) are known as *heovovavaozeva* (Petter1913-15:351;Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976: 31).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

The Lakotas and Cheyennes hunted both the whitetail and the blacktail, and like the elk, the meat of these animals was probably as important as bison during the winter months (Bordeaux 1929:126; Hoebel 1960:64;Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:154-155; Grinnell 1972:1:257). Deer flesh was the meat that the Lakotas favored most after bison, and they considered it especially healthy because of the fresh leaves and berries on which the animals fed (Brown 1992: 16, 30). Studies of browse utilization by deer in the Black Hills confirms this: ground juniper, bur oak, ponderosa pine, hop hornbeam, Oregon grape, bearberry, chokecherry, buffaloberry, blue aster, pussytoes, wild rose, and yucca are among the nutritious plants they consume (Turner 1974: 140).

Deer were usually found in brush and rough topography (Wedel and Frison 2001:50), where they were typically hunted by small groups and by individuals alone or with a companion. In some techniques, a noose hidden on a well-traveled path snared them. In others, they were driven into pens at popular feeding spots. Finally, they were shot with arrows because they were docile and easy to approach and kill (Hassrick 1964: 167; Grinnell 1972:1:272). Other techniques involved larger groups of hunters, surrounding and driving them into pounds where entire herds were killed. Samuel Hinman (1874:93) located one such corral near Cache Butte, forty miles due east of the Buffalo Gap. In 1874, Grinnell (1875: 78) encountered some Lakotas hunting whitetail deer at the head of Elk Creek, and he reported that they waited for deer near this place because it was their "eat the ground" -- in other words a salt lick. Black Elk reported sighting deer near the Buffalo Gap in May of 1874 while hunting with his father (in DeMallie 1984:155-156), and he noted other instances of deer hunts in the region when he was young (Ibid:335, 342, 357, 369). Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:47-48) recounted an incident where a man was bitten by a snake while hunting deer in the Black Hills. Standing Bear (1988:55-56) provided a good description of Lakota methods of tracking deer when he wrote:

> In tracking a deer we came to know that it is a very hard animal to follow, for it watches behind so closely. A deer will watch the top of the hill, which it has just crossed and a wise hunter will go around the base of the hill in order to, deceive the animal. If a deer is sure that it is being followed, it will run some distance, then lie down and watch for its pursuer and try to locate him before going on or before exposing itself on the brow of the next hill. When hunting, we watched the direction of the wind very closely. If we did not do this, it is very likely that our game would detect us before we did it.

There is also a good description (Hassrick 1964:187-188) of Lakota techniques for butchering deer.

Among the Lakota, deerskins were soft tanned after the hair was removed, and they were used for a wide variety of garments,

receptacles, and as fringing on pipes (Curtis 1907-30:3:15, 27-29, 87, 94, 137; Lyford 1940:33; Walker 1982:52, 101). Men wore deerskin aprons, *nite'iyapehe*, when they participated in the Sun Dance. A ball of sweetgrass was wrapped in a deerskin with long fringes and tied to the braids at marriage. Love medicine was kept in deerskin bags (Curtis 1907-30:3:19, 28-29, 95, 139; Densmore 1918:125; Walker 1982:52, 101). Soft-tanned deerskins were used in mortuary practice, and they were sewn into a special wrapping, *wi'caske*, to hold a spirit bundle and into a decorated case, *pan*, which held the gifts to be given away at a spirit-keeping ceremony (Curtis 1907-30:3:100, 102, 105; Densmore 1918:79). Deer hooves were made into rattles for *Miwatani* members (Curtis 1907-30:3:172; Wissler 1912: 48; Densmore 1948:188), they served as ornamentation in armlets and necklaces (Brown 1992:16), and they were used as cuplike utensils to hold paint (Walker 1982: 100). Rattles were also made out of deer claws (Densmore 1948:188). Deer sinew was employed in arrow-making and for sewing (Densmore 1918:438; Standing Bear 1988: 23; Brown 1992:16), the bladder functioned as a nipple to feed broth to infants (Brown 1992), and the rawhide of mule deer went into the manufacture of drumheads (Brown 1992:16). The metatarsal bones were fashioned into dice (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:325), while the phalangeal bones were used in a cup and pin game (Densmore 1948:190-191). Deer livers were taken by the Lakotas to absorb the venom of snakes when making poison arrows (Bordeaux 1929:126).

The Lakotas also applied deer parts medicinally. The tails of mule deer were used to apply ointments in healings performed by bear doctors (Powers, W. 1986:187). Deer liver was considered a good medicine to keep an infant from continuously crying (Beckwith, M. 1930:390). Louise Plenty Holes told Mark St. Pierre and Tilda Long Soldier (1995:83) how a deer tendon, *takan*, was used to tie off an umbilical cord.

The Cheyenne fabricated moccasins, women's dresses and leggings out of deerskins, and they manufactured men's ceremonial regalia and war shields out of this material as well (Grinnell 1972:1:58, 189, 217, 221). They also covered the shafts of lances and the handholds of bighorn sheep bows with deer hide. They made necklaces from deer teeth and tails (Grinnell 1972:1: 175, 187, 223, 2:124) and arrowpoints from deer antler (Grinnell 1972:1:183). Deer udders were used to feed infants (Grinnell 1972:1:106). Deer hooves decorated the sheepskin shirts of leading men (Curtis 1907-30:6:156). Pipes were fashioned from the shank bones of deer (Grinnell 1972: 2: 208), and these were used in calling buffalo based on a tradition the Cheyennes learned from their culture hero, Sweet Medicine, when he returned from his journey to their Sacred Mountain, Bear Butte (Stands In Timber and Liberty 1967:38). Armlets made from the hooves and skins of whitetail deer were worn by Cheyennes for dances, medicine making, or war, and according to Grinnell (1972:2: 123-124), they conveyed the power of the deer to the wearer, making him able to run swiftly. He also wrote about deer tails serving as a means of protection. Cheyenne Elk Soldiers carried rattles made from a deer's dew claws (Dorsey, G. 1905: 18) and so did members of the Arapahos' Dog Men Society (Trenholm 1970:79). Deer skins were displayed in the Sun Dance because the Cheyennes believed that this animal belonged to the ceremony, and the tails of deer were worn by the dancers (Grinnell 1972:2:232, 266-267).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Lakota attitudes towards deer were highly ambivalent (Brown 1992:29-30). They were understood as powerful spirit helpers and potentially dangerous too. In some contexts, they were associated with the North Wind (Dorsey, J. 1894:422), but, more often, they were associated with the East or the West winds. Blacktail deer were considered sacred messengers of the thunder beings and linked to war (Densmore 1918:195; Beck-

with, M. 1930:12n2; Powers, W. 1977:139). Members of the Sacred Bow Society attached tails of the blacktail deer to the heels of their moccasins and also painted the insoles with designs of the animal's tracks (Blish 1934:185). These deer were associated with endurance and the ability to withstand thirst (Densmore 1918:125). As Standing Bear wrote (1988:56):

> Among our tribe there is a superstition concerning the black-tail deer. It is said that if this deer becomes aware of the hunter who is about to aim at it, the animal can deflect the bullets of the hunter and save itself. Many times I heard this story, then one day I had an amazing experience with this animal that puzzled me as it had other hunters. A friend and myself were hunting on horseback. The wind being right, we came close upon a black-tail deer before it saw us. I quickly dismounted to shoot while my companion held the reins of my horse. The deer did not run, but stood looking at me as I aimed, wagging its tail steadily back and forth. With every assurance of getting my game I fired. To my astonishment, the deer stood still and looked intently at me. I was a good marksman, the animal was only a short distance from me, and fully exposed, yet my shot had gone astray. Seven times I shot at this animal, missing every time, the deer never moving. The seventh bullet was my last and I could shoot no more. My ammunition was gone, and there the deer and I stood looking at each other. So close were we that I could see its lips twitching.

Blacktail deer dreamers, much like elk dreamers, were able to capture the reflection of others through mirrors or their sacred hoops and strike people dead through their glance (Wissler 1912:90; Powers, W. 1977: 58). They also received medicines for healing (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:137). Like elk dreamers, those who dreamed of blacktail deer held special ceremonies (Wissler 1912:90; Hassrick 1964:239; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:82). Unlike elk dreamers, deer dreamers used black rather than yellow pipes. Only young men seem to have performed these dances, although they also invited virgins to carry a pipe, hoop, and forked stick in their ceremonies (Wissler 1912:90).

Blacktail deer are also associated with the Double-Woman, *Winyan Nupakapi*, a figure who bestows on women the gift to excel at porcupine quill work, a skill that is considered highly *wakan* (Wissler 1912:92; Hassrick 1964:191, 230; Sundstrom, L. 2002). The dreams of this figure took on many different conventional forms (Wissler 1912:93). Women who had such dreams were believed to faint when a mirror was flashed upon them, but they were also known to be able to use mirrors to bring harm to others (Ibid:93-94). These women were imbued with power to make effective war shields and medicines (Wissler 1912: 94). Today, blacktail deer also commonly appear in *Yuwipi* ceremonies conducted by women (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:30, 184, 185, 198).

Whitetail deer, on the other hand, were linked to the East Wind and sexual danger (Powers, M. 1987:39-40; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:51). They're specifically linked to the figure of the Deer Woman, *Tahca winyan* (apparently different from the Double-Woman deer), who appears first as a human female but then transforms herself into a deer and disappears. She is featured in a well-known story recorded by Ella Deloria (1978:74-76). Unwary men who encountered this woman subjected themselves to grave danger (Dorsey, J. 1994:450-451; Wissler 1912:94-95). Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980:166-167) why this deer was considered *wakan:*

> A man loves a woman and he is always thinking of her. Perhaps when he has gone to shoot deer, the very woman he loves is sitting in the forest, laughing and looking at him, they say. So the man goes to the woman and suddenly he touches her (*Iputaka)* they say. And finally they lie together, they say. Then when he finishes, the man stands up and the woman too begins to stand, they say. So the man looks at the woman. And then the woman says as follows, 'I am a White-tailed Deer Woman

(*con tarca winyela*, the female woods deer), but I make myself look like a woman and the man is deceived,' they say.

From that time, the man loves her (*teriyaku)* they say. The man who lay down with the deer returns home. The holy man tries had to cure him,, they say. He is very deranged (*knaxhinyan*), they say. If the man is very strong (*wakix'ake*) he will be able to live they say. Some are not able to live and so they die, it is sad. Therefore, the white-tailed deer are very much feared.

More recently, Madonna Swan (in St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:52) gave a description of the beliefs surrounding this deer figure:

We believe that certain women can appear to men as deer. Sometimes this can be dangerous. If a man is out hunting alone and he sees a doe, he shouldn't follow her. They can be tricky. She might be a spirit deer and try to fool him. She will smell very attractive and might even appear to him as a beautiful woman. she may make him follow her by using her deer perfume.

He will follow her a long way, and when they stop to lie down together, she will turn back into a deer and run off. This will make him confused, crazy, and he could wander until he freezes or starves to death.

According to Clark Wissler (1912:94-95), the power of the Deer Woman resided in the perfume she carried in her hoof.

While sometimes feared, deer were revered and associated with the origins of a number of different objects and rituals. They were linked to the origin of the bow and arrow (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 310-311, 314). When *Takohe* [the First Man who some believed emerged from Wind Cave] makes a young man a *hunka* and calls him *sunk*, he explains the sacred stories and rituals that involve the use of deer hooves and skins. He shows the young man how to place deer skins on an altar and make them sacred, and he tells him that only certain people who have undertaken special deeds have the privilege to have their hands painted red (Walker 1983:377-378).

The Cheyennes also carried ambivalent attitudes towards deer, whose power could be used for good or evil. Wesley Whiteman (in Schwartz 1988:55) describes them as "tricky" because they can turn themselves into other forms. The mule deer was considered a great spirit helper but also dangerous because it could shoot disease arrows from the cavities under its eyes. Doctors who carried the tail of a mule deer were able to afflict others with illness if they so desired (Grinnell 1972: 2:104). Wooden Leg told Thomas Marquis (1931:52) that the Cheyennes believed all deer had "strong spirit powers," and he also recounted an incident where a Cheyenne man named Black Wolf encountered two beautiful women on a cliff's edge. These women summoned him, but as he approached, he could smell a deer odor. While looking in a pool, he saw their reflection as they turned instantaneously back into their deer form (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:49-50). The association of deer with water is also indicated by the symbolic markings of the deer dancer in the Cheyenne Sun Dance, who is not only painted with the markings of dragonflies, tadpoles, and hail but carries a mirror (Powell 1969:2:796, 834, 844). In contrast to the Lakotas who associated love medicine with elk, the Cheyennes connected this kind of power to the whitetail deer (Grinnell 1972:1:134, 2: 104). As in Lakota beliefs, the female of this species was believed to be able to bring madness on a man, and Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:50-51) describes such an incident. Cheyennes who experienced difficulty in love matters wore deer tails tied with medicine on their shoulder belts (Grinnell 1972:1:134). Grinnell (1972:2:135-137) wrote a long story about a man named Black Wolf (this may have been the same person Wooden Leg talked about in reference to blacktail deer), who came upon a lodge of deer and received medicine from them that made him irresistible to women when he put his medicine on a looking-glass. He was also known

as a skilled flute maker. These attributes are more typically associated with elk in Lakota traditions.

Deer figured prominently in the Cheyennes' *Massaum* ceremony among the animals that were impersonated and enticed into the medicine enclosure where they were symbolically killed by the Contraries (Grinnell 1972:2:333-335). They are also represented in the Sun Dance by the mud figurines children made to place around the base of the center pole; they were imitated in the paintings of one group of Sun dancers; and they were physically manifested when their tails were worn by the dancers (Dorsey, G. 1905:49; Grinnell 1972:2:232, 266-267; Powell 1969:2:796, 832, 833, 834, 844). At one time, there was a special medicine society of deer dreamers similar to the Oglalas, but no information has been published on it (Anderson 1956:93). They also appear in some of the Cheyennes most sacred texts, representing the various animals that the culture heroes Sweet Medicine and Erect Horns brought up from underneath the earth (Dorsey, G. 1905:49).

THE ANTELOPE FAMILY (*ANTILOCARPRIDAE*)

Pronghorn [*Antilocarpa americana americana*]

Habitat & History

Only one species from this family, the pronghorn [*Antilocarpa american americana*], is found in North America. Historically, pronghorns were the ungulate species most closely associated with the long distance migrations of animals between the Black Hills and the surrounding grasslands. In 1803, Tabeau (Abel 1939:77) had this to say about the pronghorn:

> The skin of the antelope, however, would be a very important article, if it should acquire some value. The antelope is found on the prairies in numerous herds that leave the Black Hills in the spring and return in the autumn. Thus they cross the Missouri twice. It is at these crossings that the Savages and particularly the Ricaras kill as many as they wish.

A year later, in 1804, the *engage* Gueneville told Lewis and Clark that pronghorns migrated annually to their winter homes in the Black Hills, and later an Arikara man told Clark that other animals also wintered there (Moulton 1983-87:3:179-180). Clark witnessed these migratory movements (Ibid: 3:182, 222), and on 9 April 1805, he wrote:

> ....three miles above the mouth of this creek we passed a hunting camp of Minatrees who had repaired a park and were waiting the return of the Antelope; which usually pass the Missouri at this season of the year from the Black hills on the south side, to the open plains on the north side of the river; in like manner the Antelope repasses the Missouri from N. to South in the latter end of autumn, and winter in the black hills, where there is considerable body of woodland (Ibid:4: 16).

Later observers would confirm the migrations too. In 1862, Ferdinand V. Hayden (1862b:150) described these movements as follows:

> In the beginning of the winter they may be seen for days following each other in files (if not disturbed) on their way towards the Northwest, leaving the prairie for the more rugged portions of the country near the Black hills, or the foot of the mountains. In the spring, usually about March, they may be seen returning again, and distributing themselves over the open prairie.

In 1874, George Bird Grinnell (1875:164) also reported the same pattern, and many decades later, Ernest Thompson Seton (1929:2:421) wrote, "...those on the open country about the Black Hills flock thither from all points of the compass." According to White Bull (Vestal 1934:161), pronghorn were found in such abundance that single herds could stretch over thirty miles. By the 1890s, pronghorn were scare in the southeastern Black Hills, although Matthew Bing-

ham apparently still hunted them and traded their skins to local Lakotas (Bingham 1973: 6). Alice Smith (1973:16), reported that at the turn-of-the twentieth century, pronghorn were no longer present on her family's ranch near Wind Cave.

Other early writers did not describe their migrations, but they did report on some of the locations where these ruminants were hunted. In 1851, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:17, 18) mentioned the Sicangus hunting them on the upper White River, and in the same area, near Cache Butte, Samuel Hinman (1874:93) described the remains of antelope at a large abandoned pit and corral. George Hyde (1961:19) also documented this area in his history of the Sicangu leader, Spotted Tail. Northwest of the Black Hills at the headwaters of the Little Missouri River near the outskirts of Belle Fourche, South Dakota, are two other pronghorn hunting locations commonly mentioned in the oral traditions of the Cheyennes (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Grinnell 1972: 1:277; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:12). In addition, several prehistoric sites have been reported in the archaeological literature, including a number in Fall River County South Dakota (Sundstrom, L. 2000:126-128).

Tribal Taxonomy

Pronghorn were known to the Cheyennes as *vo?kaa?e* or *vo?aa?e* (Petter 1913-15: 45; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:3). Among the Lakotas, they went by several different names: *heton cik'ala* [small horn] (Buechel 1970:174), *ni ge' sanla* [white belly] (Ibid:363), *tatoka* [big horn], *tatokala* [small horn] (Ibid: 484), and *wicawohata-tahca* [deer son-in-law] (Ibid:580).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

The Lakotas and the Cheyennes commonly hunted pronghorns, and these animals were a significant source of food. Once again, they were probably as important in local diets as bison from the late winter to early spring (Hoebel 1960: 64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964: 154-155; Grinnell 1972:1:257).

Typically, pronghorn were driven over cliffs, into snow drifts, or into specially constructed enclosures (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Hassrick 1964:167, 176; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:85; Grinnell 1972:277-290; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Schlesier 1987:52-61; Sundstrom, L. 2000:119-124). Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:150) described a Sicangu Lakota pronghorn hunt on the upper reaches of the White River in 1863 as follows:

> The animals, being surrounded by several hundred people are driven through some gap in the hills, beyond which is a perpendicular descent of many feet, enclosed around the base with logs and brush, raised to a sufficient height to prevent them from jumping over. The antelope, once through the gap or pass, cannot recede, and the pressure of those from behind forces those in front over the descent, the rear being followed up quickly by the pursuers.

Single hunters or small parties also stalked pronghorn, White Bull (Vestal 1934:161) reported hunting them this way, and Black Elk (DeMallie 1984:155-156) described his father taking down pronghorn at the Buffalo Gap in the spring of 1874.

Pronghorn skins were commonly soft-tanned and used in making women's dresses and leggings, men's breech clouts and war shirts, and the upper parts of moccasins by both the Cheyennes and Lakotas (Grinnell 1972: 1:217, 221; Walker 1980:101). The warriors of these two tribal nations used pronghorn skin to make their shield covers (Grinnell 1972:1:189-190; Walker 1980: 101). In a warparty's encounter with a spirit wolf near the Black Hills, the participants were told the *Tokalas* and *Cante Tinza* should use pronghorn skins to cover their tipi doors (Wissler 1912:72). Cheyenne and Arapaho men made straight pipes from the

shank bone of the pronghorn (Trenholm 1970:67; Grinnell 1972:2:208), and they manufactured rattles from pronghorn dew claws (Dorsey, G. 1905:18). The Cheyennes were reported to use pronghorn udders to nurse infants (Grinnell 1972:1:106). Lakotas made medicine bags out of pronghorn ears (Densmore 1948: 177), and the Hunkpapa leader Sitting Bull was known to have possessed one of these (Densmore 1918:252). Pronghorn livers were also employed to absorb snake venom and used in the manufacture of poison arrows (Bordeaux 1929: 126).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Among the Cheyennes, the pronghorn was highly revered. Dreams of pronghorn were well-received and interpreted as a sign of good fortune (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:152; Grinnell 1972:2:104). Antelope dreamers were healers who often imitated the sounds and actions of this animal (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:153). There were elaborate ceremonies connected with catching pronghorn, which some Cheyennes remembered being performed near Belle Fourche, South Dakota (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:85; Grinnell 1972:1:280-285; Schlesier 1987: 52-61; Sundstrom, L. 2001:121-124). The antelope shaman who conducted this ceremony received his power from the *Maiyun* in a series of dreams, and using this power, he was able to determine where the pronghorn would be located (Hoebel 1960:65). On the fourth day of the *Massaum* or Animal Dance, women built a symbolic pronghorn corral into which they guided the antelope dreamers dressed in the skins of this animal (Hoebel 1960:17). In the Sun Dance, figurines of pronghorn were molded by children and placed around the base of the center pole (Dorsey, G. 1905: 49).

There is little information on the sacred significance and ceremonial role of pronghorns in Lakota culture, however. Clark Wissler (1912:95) reported that he heard about the presence of a society of antelope dreamers but received no direct information on it. Pronghorns were represented by feathers in the iconography of the Sun Dance (Walker 1980:184). Kit Fox soldiers wore a sash adorned with pronghorn hooves (Walker 1980:274). Other than these few references, little is written about them in the extensive literature on Lakota ceremonialism.

Carnivores [*Carnivora*]

In early historic times, many of the large carnivores, especially bears and mountain lions, were closely associated with the Black Hills. Like the ungulates on whose lives they depended, many of these carnivores were either extirpated from the Hills or their populations considerably reduced as a result of the systematic eradication efforts of European Americans whose livestock was threatened by their presence. Even the numbers of smaller carnivore species declined in the face of habitat changes brought on by the development of mining, logging, and ranching in the region. At least one of the smaller carnivores, the black-footed ferret, faced extinction.

In Lakota and Cheyenne cultural traditions and histories, with the exception of badgers and skunks whose meat was considered a delicacy, carnivores were not taken primarily as a source of food. Instead, they were hunted mostly for their skins and furs, which were highly valued for practical and ceremonial purposes. Like the ungulates, however, most carnivores were esteemed for the spiritual powers they possessed, and they represented animals with whom humans entered into important spiritual partnerships. The skins of many species in this order, however, could not be dressed by women without some form of ritual intervention, and in some cases, their contact with these skins was completely forbidden.

THE CANINE FAMILY [*CANDIDAE*]

The animals that represent the canine family, which includes coyotes, wolves, and foxes, were closely connected in the cosmologies of the Lakotas and Cheyennes and sometimes played interchangeable roles in sacred stories, songs, and performances. Wolves and coyotes were often found together near the buffalo and pronghorn herds upon whose meat they also fed (Grinnell 1972:1:288). They stood, therefore, in competition with humans. At least among the Lakotas, this resulted in some ambivalence in their attitude towards them. This was not true for the Cheyennes, however, who revered and often identified them with the great *Maiyun* in their earthly as well as celestial manifestations (Schlesier 1987:9).

The Coyote [*Canis latrans latrans*]

Habitat & History

The coyote is a common animal over the entire Black Hills. It is one of the carnivorous species that escaped the threat of extirpation, even though it was subject to bounties and various eradication measures (Turner 1974:123-124). One early European American observer, Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:141), described them as follows:

> In the Prairie or Barking Wolf, or as called by the Indians, Medicine Wolf, there is but little variation in color or appearance. It is much more abundant on the Upper Missouri than the large wolf, and collects in larger bands, which seem to act in concert in taking their prey. They are said to station themselves, when in pursuit of the antelope, in such a manner, that when one becomes wearied, a fresh one appears and takes up the chase, until the antelope is captured. They are also said to be very expert in cutting the hamstrings of buffalo, deer, and not infrequently horses. They are great enemies of the prairie dog. Multitudes may be seen at all times in their villages, waiting patiently for the dogs to make their appearance.

Coyotes were certainly abundant in the Black Hills during the nineteenth century, but they were not reported in Grinnell or Dodge's writings. Both observers, however, commented, on the presence of their relative, the wolf (Progulske 1974:122). The coyote is one of the carnivorous species still found at Wind Cave National Park. Some of the park's early settlers remembered coyotes being numerous in the area in the late nineteenth century (McAdam 1973:18; Smith, A. 1973:16).

Tribal Taxonomy

Among the Lakotas, the coyote is known by many different names, some of which seem to be confined to ceremonial contexts or storytelling traditions. The common names are *ma'sleca, maya'sleca* or *mi'yasleca* (Buechel 1970:333, 334, 336). In certain situations, the coyote may also be addressed as *sunkama'nitu* (Ibid:469; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:370-371), *mica* (Walker 1980:121), or *yasle*, names also given to the wolf (Deloria 1932:29). The Cheyenne call the coyote *o?kohome* (Petter 1913-15: 312; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:28).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Coyotes are described as important prey of the Lakotas (Hassrick 1964:168); however, there is little mention of the uses to which they were put except that their skins were worn by Lakota Dog Soldiers and sometimes used for quivers (Wissler 1912:54; Lyford 1940:33). William Bordeaux (1929: 126) emphatically stated that Lakotas only ate coyotes "when in sore need of nourishment." Lakota children commonly kept coyote cubs as pets (Bordeaux 1929:172), and boys often trapped the animal in deadfalls (Vestal 1934:7). The Cheyennes are reported to have caught coyotes in deadfall traps

similar to, but larger than, the ones used for foxes (Grinnell 1972:1:299). Young coyotes were eaten by the Cheyennes just like puppies (Ibid:256), but George Grinnell (Ibid: 2:105) claims that in earlier times no one killed coyotes.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Among the Cheyennes, the coyote was an animal the Great Spirit sent to wander over the earth, and it was one of the animals who could talk to people (Dorsey, G. 1905:20). Some men were able to interpret the coyote's howl (Grinnell 1972:2:105). Grinnell (Ibid.) states that coyotes "have always been considered more sacred than wolves, possibly because they are more intelligent." The Cheyennes once prayed to coyotes, asking them to lead, guide and warn them of danger. The Cheyennes' sacred arrows were wrapped up in the skin of a coyote (Ibid: 2:106). Women were not allowed to handle the skins of this animal (Ibid: 2:105).

Coyotes were one of the animals that assisted Cheyennes in doctoring. Spotted Wolf told George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:151) how he once shot himself and afterwards built two fires in his tipi. While he was sitting there, a coyote entered the tipi, sat on his left side, and advised him to make a horse dance so that he could become a healer. They were also associated with warfare because of their powers of endurance and cunning. One of the Cheyenne warrior societies derived its name from this animal and used its hide, which was considered sacred, in their dances. The leader of the society carried a coyote hide with the hair left on (Dorsey, G. 1905:19).

Lakota attitudes towards the coyote were ambivalent. The coyote was considered a cunning and sly animal whose howls and droppings revealed the presence of enemies (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:213-214, 217, 335-336). In war, members of the Dog Soldier society painted themselves like coyotes, and four of their members carried coyote skins into battle (Wissler 1912:52-53). They are described in one source as the symbol of singers (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:73), and in another (Curtis 1907-30:3:74) as bearers of good news. Joe Flying By (in Ingram 1989:190), a well known religious leader from Standing Rock, talked about them as follows:

> The coyotes are part of the *Sunka oyate*, the Dog nation. Dogs, foxes, wolves, coyotes, prairie dogs -- these are all relatives in the *Sunka oyate.* They were the last of the sacred people who came to the world.

In Walker's version (Walker 1983:350-351) of the Lakota genesis story, however, coyote's voice is described as "disagreeable," and he is said to be unable to sing.

Historically, coyotes were known to give information on the whereabouts of bison and the location of sacred plants in visions (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:208, 225). Today, they are considered a source of healing power (Smith, D. 1949:137; Fire and Erdoes 1972:135-136; Ingram 1989:189). According to one of James Walker's (1980: 136) consultants:

> One who dreams of a coyote must wear a coyote's skin until he gets the Spirit of the Buffalo. He must cover the skin with weeds, and paint it white on the inside. He must wear it like a coyote and crawl close to the buffalo. He must have a whistle made of the bone from an eagle's wing. He must blow carefully on this whistle and low like a bull. He must carry his bow in his right hand. When he shoots the buffalo, the Spirit of the Buffalo will be with him. He must leave the meat of the liver of the buffalo for the coyote. He must paint red around his mouth and on his hands when he is doing this. When he kills a buffalo, he may throw away the coyote skin.

Although the coyote could serve as a guardian and provide people important gifts and knowledge, he was considered mischievous, associated with theft, cowardice, treachery, and other shameful behavior (Tyon in Walker 1980:121; Walker 1983:350-351). In two important Lakota ceremonies, the *Hun-*

ka and the *Pte San Lowampi*, the officiates warned participants against befriending the coyote who was associated with *Waziya*, the North Wind and/or the Old Man of Winter. Young men were warned that if they listened to the coyote they would become cowardly, lazy, and unable to find a woman who would remain loyal to them. Young women were told that they would be poor, miserable, and unable to find a man to provide for them (Walker 1980:231-232, 249). If parents did not advise their daughters on the proper care of their first menstrual flow, coyotes would devour these remains and gain power over a woman, compelling her to do "ridiculous or disgraceful things" (Walker 1980:242). According to Thomas Tyon (Walker 1980:121), the coyote was in continual conflict with the buffalo.

Among many tribal nations of the West, the coyote is their trickster figure. Ella Deloria (1978:29) noted that he played this role in certain Lakota stories too, including one she collected entitled, "The Coyote and the Bear," (Deloria, E. 1978:27-29). In some of the stories James Walker (1983:137, 144, 145, 147, 149-151, 152) recorded, he plays a trickster too. When coyote is not performing the role of *Inktomi*, the Lakotas' central trickster figure, he is often depicted as *Inktomi's* companion. Coyote and wolf once entrapped *Inktomi* in his nefarious schemes, but eventually *Inktomi* made them his allies with the promise that "he would do nothing to make them ashamed" (Walker 1983:296). Indeed, Old Horse told Walker (1980:129) that "*Iktomi* rides wolves and coyotes." He is sometimes depicted as the son of *Iya*, a gluttonous monster who acts as an adversary of the bison bull, *Tatanka* (Tyon in Walker 1980:121, 147, Walker 1980:222, 231-232, Herman in Walker 1980:249).

Wolf
[*Canis lupis irremotus*]

Habitat & History

The grey wolf was once a common animal in the Black Hills and surrounding prairies, where according to Tabeau (in Abel 1939: 78), it followed the herds of bison. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, grey wolves remained common, shadowing the great herds of ruminants (Hayden 1862b: 141). Feltskog (in Parkman 1969: 419) quotes an early Kansas trapper and hunter, J.R. Mead, who wrote:

> Lobo, the mountain wolf, locally known as 'big gray,' were congeners and associates of the buffalo, and lived almost exclusively upon them. Each wolf would kill in the course of the year, it is fair to assume, a dozen buffalo, many of them calves; but they with equal facility, could kill the strongest bull, and did whenever appetite or circumstances made it most convenient.

Wolves were still common in the Black Hills during the 1870s, as reported by Grinnell (1875:75) and Dodge (1965:176). Indeed, Grinnell (1875:75) noted "that hardly a day passed without my seeing several." They were commonly sighted by early European American settlers in the area of Wind Cave National Park as well (McAdam 1973:18; Smith, A. 1973:16). Yet, within half a century, the animal became extinct as a result of various private and state-sponsored eradication efforts (Turner 1974: 125). The descendants of early European American settlers in eastern Custer County recalled the days when local ranchers and government hunters set out to eradicate wolves on private and public land (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:253-254, 347, 676). According to Sven Froiland (1978:138), the last reported sighting of the grey wolf in the Black Hills took place in 1928. Since that date, no efforts have been made to reintroduce it to the area.

Tribal Taxonomy

In the Lakota language, there are many different names for the wolf, some of which also apply to the coyote, and they indicate that the two animals were understood as companions and closely related to each other. Some of the ascriptions probably identify species variations, but others appear to refer to alternate names used mostly in ceremonial contexts. *Caksi, yak'e* (Buechel 1970:115), *huhatopa* [four legged] (Ibid: 187), and *sunkama'nitu tanka* [large holy dog] (Ibid:469) are four of the Lakota names for wolf. *Maca* (generic) and its variants also refer to the coyote, *ma'yaca* or *mi'yaca* [denotes the prairie wolf, which is an old ascription for coyote], and *ma'yasle* [refers to a small species of wolf] (Ibid:327, 334, 336). The Cheyennes' generic name for wolf is *ho?nehe* or *ho?neheo?o*, and then there are names that designate the coloration of a wolf's hide, white, yellow, red, grey, or black. For example, *Mo?ohtaaho?nehe* is black wolf, and *na?eho?nehe* is red wolf (Petter 1913-15:115-116; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976: 122). There are also names in Cheyenne that distinguish other anatomical characteristics, like white faced wolf or that refer to a social status as in lone wolf (Petter 1913-15:115-116). The Cheyenne names reflect not only their high regard for this animal, but also the great variation within the species. Hayden (1862b: 141) wrote:

> This animal varies so much in color that the traders on the Upper Missouri suppose that there are four or five species. I have seen them differing in color from an almost snowy whiteness to a dark brown or black, and was at first induced to attribute this difference to age and sex, but Mr. Zephyr, an intelligent trader, informed me that he had noticed the same variations of color in all ages.

Modes of Procurement Preparation, and Use

Lakotas and Cheyennes hunted wolves regularly for their meat and skins (Bordeaux 1929:126; Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:168; Grinnell 1972: 1:256, 2:198). Wolf pups were also kept as pets, and according to Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:318), a Lakota named Moves Walking trained the wolves he reared to become pack dogs. Before and even after the arrival of horses, dogs were vital to the Lakotas as beasts of burden, a means of protection, and also in hunting (Hassrick 1964:156-159).

The Cheyennes hunted wolves for their meat and their skins as well (Hoebel 1960: 64; Grinnell 1972:1:256, 2:198). Some Cheyennes reported that wolf meat was desirable, but a few claimed otherwise. Wooden Leg (Marquis 1931:90) and Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9), for instance, reported that only the pups had palatable meat, and these were eaten only when other food was scarce. Wolves were trapped by the Cheyennes in deep holes, baited with meat and covered with leaves and twigs, although smaller wolves were sometimes caught in pens (Grinnell 1972: 297-299). They were also once hunted in the Black Hills area on horseback, according to the Cheyenne Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:7).

Among the Cheyennes and Arapahos, men wore wolf skins like ponchos on raiding and hunting forays (Grinnell 1972:1:300, 2:72; Trenholm 1970:66). The members of the Bow String society wore caps of wolf skin (Dorsey 1905:55), and strips of wolf fur were used to tie the antelope hunting pole to its hoop (Grinnell 1972:1:284). Wolf skins were attached to some of the vikuts that warriors used for carrying water (Grinnel 1972:2:24), and they were made into coverings on which wolf dreamers slept (Grinnell 1972:2:78). In another kind of vikut, the figure of a wolf was carved halfway down the staff, and the fork that carried the cup

was known as the "wolf's road" (Grinnell 1972:2:78). Narrow strips of wolf skin were also used to tie a warrior's hair in a top knot above his forehead, and also tied around his neck (Grinnell 1972:2:25). Wolf claws and teeth were affixed to shields for protection from enemies, and the hair of a yellow wolf was used in a treatment for women who experienced difficulty in childbirth (Moore, J. 1974a:176).

The Cheyennes would not allow women to handle wolf hides in earlier times, but in their more recent history, women underwent a special ceremony that enabled them to tan them without getting palsy (Grinnell 1972:1: 105, 2:198-200). The Lakotas insisted that only virgins tan wolf hides for ceremonial purposes (Walker 1982:95).

Lakota men who dreamed of the wolf had the right to carry or wear the skins of this animal and act as scouts on war parties (Wissler 1912:90-91; Walker 1982:95). The lances of the *Blotanka* Society, for example, were covered with wolf skin, and these had to be made by men who dreamed of the wolf. Wolf skin was used in this context because the "wolf knows everything" (Wissler 1912:57-58). In an encounter with a spirit wolf near the Black Hills, a war party is told that the *Cante Tinza*, the Brave Heart Society, should place a wolf skin at their tipi door (Ibid:72).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The Lakotas and the Cheyennes envisioned the wolf as a scout or spy, who was able to communicate with humans in various ways, warning them of danger and death as well as predicting the direction of enemies and animals (Densmore 1918:180; Grinnell 1972:2: 17-18, 106-107; Walker 1982:160, 1982:95; Powers, W. 1986:187). Cheyenne men, who were able to interpret the howling of wolves, turned back on a war party if a wolf was killed (Grinnell 1972:2:105). According to the Lakota Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980: 121), the wolf "presided over the chase and war parties." Wolf dreamers were especially important to the Lakotas in helping to locate bison because wolves often traveled in the shadows of the herds. They also played an important role in guiding war parties (Tyon in Walker 1980:121). According to William Powers (1986:186): "In the old days warriors about to embark against the enemy employed the *Sungmanitu Kaga* to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy." Members of the *Hanskaska*, Chief Society or Big Bellies, were also reported to receive special warnings and directions from wolves in military matters (Wissler 1912:38-39).

In the Sun Dances of the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, when the sacred cottonwood tree is cut down, a scout imitates the howls and actions of a wolf as he brings news of the "enemy" to the camp (Sword in Deloria 1929:394; Grinnell 1972: 2:229, 248; Standing Bear 1975:116; Tyon in Walker 1980: 178). The leader of a *Hunka* ceremony gave wolf howls when he searched for the children who were honored (Densmore 1918:74, 76). The act of making a wolf howl is called *houya* "to summon a voice" (Powers, W. 1986:186), but Pete Catches (1990:109) says this howling is called *akisa* [to shout or cheer on] (see also, Buechel 1970:75, 186).

Wolves were highly *wakan* to the Lakotas, and they were known as the messengers of *Waziya* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101, Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125, Tyon in Walker 1980:160) and able to produce wind or fog when they howled (Wissler 1912:91; Brown 1992:35). Warriors emulated wolves because they were hardy, fast, and agile (Densmore 1918:71; Wissler 1912:91). They were valued for their stealth and ability to come upon a camp unseen (Tyon in Walker 1980:160). Those who dreamed of wolves were given powers to create foggy weather conditions. A day of dense mist and fog was known as a "wolf's day" (Wissler 1912:54, 91). Finally, wolves were considered wise and crafty (Wissler 1912:57-58; Brown 1992:36-37). As Charging Thunder Densmore (1918:183):

> The old wolf said that by the aid of this pipe I would be able to outwit the wisest and craftiest of my enemies. I made the pipe as he directed and carried it on the warpath and had good success. It did not look any different from an ordinary pipe, but it had been 'made sacred' by a medicine man.

Wolf figures were highly respected as guardian spirits, especially by warriors (Densmore 1918:179-183; Hassrick 1964: 84;Tyon in Walker 1980:160). The men who dreamed of wolves constituted an informal association, *Sunkmanitou ihanblapi* or *Sunkmanitou kaga*, whose members performed ceremonies to demonstrate their visionary powers (Dorsey, J. 1894: 480-481; Powers, W. 1977:58; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:82). They wore wolf skins on their backs, arms, and legs, and covered their head with a rawhide mask. Their bodies were painted white and their appendages red. Warriors conducted wolf performances before going on raids, and only men who dreamed of a wolf twice were eligible to participate. Wolf performers piped on grouse whistles inserted through their masks, and they carried a rope called the *Zuzeca kaga*, which they moved in imitation of the slithering motions of a snake (Densmore 1918:179; Wissler 1912:90-91; Powers, W. 1986:186; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:195). Wolf Society members were able to cure various sicknesses, but they were most well-known for preparing war medicines and making remedies to remove arrows (Powers, W. 1977:158; Sword in Walker 1980:90-91; Standing Bear 1988: 103). Wolves are closely connected to the kinnikinick or bearberry plant, and it is through a wolf that the Lakotas learned of its use (Standing Bear 1988:103). Wolf dreamers also made highly effective protective *wotawi* (war amulets) and war shields (Wissler 1912:90-91; Walker 1982:95). According to Clark Wissler (1912: 52-53), the Dog Soldier military association may have been named at one time the Wolf Society because the mythical founder and patron of the group is a wolf.

In the Lakota scheme of things, the wolf was considered the leader of the animals classed as "diggers" (Walker 1983:271), but in the gathering of the animals, it travels with other carnivores (Walker 1983:349). Like the coyote, the wolf was seen as an important ally and partner of *Inktomi* (Thunder Bear in Walker 1980:129; Walker 1983:168-170, 173). Indeed, the wolf played a very important role in helping *Inktomi* entice the *Pte Oyate* to the surface of the world in the *Tokahe* story associated with Wind Cave (Walker 1917:181-182). Also, like coyotes, Lakota sentiments about wolves were often ambivalent. On the one hand, they could be associated with nefarious activities as servants of *Anog Ite*, the Double Face woman, or the helpers of *Inktomi* (Walker 1983:376). In the *Hunka* ceremony, an elder woman goes to the top of a hill where she wails a song to keep the wolf away from the camp. In this context, the wolf, which is considered a helper to the North Wind, is associated with misfortune and sorrow (Walker 1980: 222). But on the other hand, the wolf could be represented as a guardian and protector of the people as in different renditions of the famous story of the Lakota woman who lived with the wolves (Deloria 1932:121-122;Hassrick 1964:138-139; Herman 1965b: 6; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:115-117). In one of the stories of *Piya* (a Stone Boy figure), the wolf, along with the turtle and the meadowlark, offer protective powers to the protagonist (Walker 1983:127-128, 130). Or in another story, a female wolf refuses to cooperate with *Inktomi* by giving him meat, which she says is only for her little ones who are hungry (Walker 1983: 349-350).

The Cheyenne held the wolf in high regard. They believed the wolf was the most tricky and cunning of all the animals and the friendliest one as well (Dorsey, G. 1905: 34; Grinnell 1972:2:125). Wolves were much respected as spiritual guardians (Grinnell 1972:2:112-113), and it was considered an honor for wolves and coyotes to eat the flesh of dead warriors who were left on the prairie (Ibid:2:163). Wolves were strongly

associated with warfare, and while on a warparty, it was forbidden to point a knife in their direction (Ibid:2:125). The wolf served as a patron for the Bow String or Wolf Warrior Society (Ibid:2:72). In the origin story of this organization, it was told that Owl Friend once got caught in a blizzard and was rescued by wolves that brought him into their lodge. The wolves told Owl Friend that they are more cunning than any other animal and that they held the whole earth for their home. They blessed Owl Friend and spent four days teaching him the details of the warrior society he initiated (Dorsey 1905:28; Grinnell 1972:2:73-78). Wolves are also associated with romantic attraction, and Cheyenne love songs are often referred to as "wolf songs" (Moore, J. 1974a:176).

Although Lakotas revered wolves and coyotes, these animals did not occupy the same exalted status as they did among the Cheyennes who regarded them as one of the primary spiritual masters or game keepers of the animals (Grinnell 1972:1:334-336; Schlesier 1987:98). It was in the Cheyennes' *Massaum* or Animal Dance that the wolf figured most prominently. This ceremony, which was historically practiced in the Black Hills, was the symbolic recreation of their origin story, in which the spirit of a male wolf saves the culture heroes of the Cheyenne, *Mosteyev* or Sweet Medicine, and the Suhtaio, *Tomsi'vsi* or Erect Horns, and instructs them in the teachings of life (Grinnell 1972:2:285; Schlesier 1987:53-54, 76-80). The ceremony, which lasts five days, involves the making of a wolf lodge that represents the universe before creation and the home of the wolves and their assistants, the foxes, which represent the spirit masters of the animals released from *heszevoxsz* (the underworld). These spirit masters control the hunting of predators, including humans (Grinnell 1972:287-291; Schlesier 1987:80-83, 90-92, 98). On the second day, wolf and fox skins were brought into the lodge and laid down on the north side near the sacred buffalo skull (Grinnell 1972:291-296; Schlesier 1987:92-96). On the third day of the ceremony, *Ehyophstah* (Yellow Haired Woman) was reincarnated and prepared the skin of *Ma'heone honehe*, the sacred male red (or yellow) wolf who was the manifestation of *Nonoma*, the Thunder. Later, an elderly woman of the Young Wolf Society was called into the lodge and instructed to bring the two men who were selected to prepare the *Evevsev honehe*, the sacred white female wolf, a manifestation of *Esceheman*, the Earth, and the kit fox, *Voh'kis,* a representation of *Ehyophstah* who acted as a servant of the two wolves. The male wolf's hide was carefully prepared, stretched, combed and painted with an elaborate cosmological design, and the skins of the female wolf and the assistant kit foxes were attended to ceremoniously as well (Grinnell 1972:296-300; Schlesier 1987:96-98). The preparations of the skins continued into the fourth day. In the evening, the wolves marked their trails and set the four directions outside the lodge where the elderly female, "Young Wolves," built a sacred pound and where the lodges of other animals were erected outside its periphery (Grinnell 1972:2:300-309; Schlesier 1987: 99-103). On the fifth and final day, the wolf skins were displayed on a travois outside the lodge where offerings were made to them by children. Later in the day, the wolf impersonators and their kit fox assistants led the other animal impersonators into the enclosure where they were symbolically consecrated, hunted, and killed. At the end of the ceremony, the sacred coyote appeared and made the food available for distribution to the people (Grinnell 1972:2:309-334; Schlesier 1987:104-106).

Grey Fox (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus ocythous*)

Red Fox (*Vulpis vulpes regalis*)

Habitat & History

In 1803, Tabeau (in Abel 1939:81) wrote that the grey fox, *Urocyon cinereoargenteus*

ocythous, was very common in regions west of the Missouri River and that the red fox, while present, was not as common as its grey cousin. Sixty years later, Ferdinand V. Hayden (1962b:142) noted that the red fox, *Vulpis vulpes regalis,* was common to the area and that its fur was highly valued by local traders. Presently, the red fox is the only species reported in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park, although Lt. Richard Dodge (1965:123) saw both red and grey foxes in the area in 1875. The likelihood of the Swift Fox, also known as Kit Fox, *Vulpes velox herbes,* being in the Black Hills has been questioned by some writers (Froiland 1978:149). Nonetheless, Hayden (1862b) reported that it was very common near prairie dog villages at locations west of the Missouri River, and Decost Smith (1949:68) said it was one of the animals most affected by the poison baits Euro-americans used to kill predators in this area.

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota, the fox goes by three different names, *sungila* (little dog, the fox generically), *tokala* (little enemy, specifically the small grey fox or kit fox), whose food is white and pink prairie clover, and *wica-hanhan* which refers to a small fox (Buechel 1970:468, 495, 577). In the Cheyenne language, the fox is called *ma?ohoohe* or alternatively *vohkeso* or *vohkeseho* [crooked], referring to the crooked manner by which the fox travels (Petter 1913-15:500; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:43), while the kit fox or small grey fox is known as *wuh'kis* (Grinnell 1972:2:301).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

The Lakotas and Cheyennes hunted foxes for their furs using pens, deadfalls, and a variety of other trapping techniques (Vestal 1934:7; Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:167, 168; Grinnell 1972:2:298-299). Fox skins were stripped into pieces for a Lakota game known as "fox choking" (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:325). Fox skins were worn around the neck of Lakota Kit Fox soldiers and adorned the *Tokalas'* lances. Fox bones were also fastened to an otter skin and worn on the forehead, and rattles with fox skin guards were used by the *Tokalas* too (Wissler 1912:15 16, 72). The wearing of these regalia came directly from the society's origin story as told by Thomas Tyon to James Walker (1980:268-269). The whips of the *Wic'iska* (White Marked Society) had fox skin on their guards (Wissler 1912:35), and the wrist guards worn by members of the *Hanskaska* Society were made of fox skin too (Ibid:38).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The fox was much admired by the Lakotas for his persistent strength and courage, wily, clever, and cunning nature, as well as his gentleness, nimbleness, and swiftness (Wissler 1912:14; Standing Bear 1978:143, 215; Brown 1997:27). The fox was the symbol of one of the most important warrior societies among the Lakotas, the *Tokala* or Kit Foxes This association has been reestablished among the Lakotas in recent years. In historic times, the society was formed to keep order and harmony in Lakota camps and to protect and oversee the movements of camps. Its members policed some of the hunts, and they went out against tribes who invaded Lakota lands (Wissler 1912:14-23; Standing Bear 1978:143-147; Walker 1980: 193, 268). According to Luther Standing Bear (1978:143-147), the fox sacrificed himself so that men could wear his skin and acquire his qualities. Men who became kit foxes were expected to be reliable, active, and alert like foxes; they carried clubs rather than arrows. Their pipe bearer appealed to *Waziyata* for aid, suggesting that, like the coyote and the wolf, the fox was associated with the North Wind (Wissler 1912:19). Further details on the origins, functions, offices, ceremonies, and regalia of the *Tokalas* are found in James Walker (1980:260-263, 264-266, 268-270, 272-274), Clark Wissler (1912:14-23), and Royal B. Hassrick's writings (1964:16, 18-21, 22-24, 133-34, 144).

The dances of the *Tokalas* were also believed to have healing effects because they induced rest and sleep among the participants. The men who dreamed of foxes, *tokala inhanblapi*, played an important role in certain forms of curing, and they had knowledge of special herbs and roots too. As Standing Bear described this (1978:215):

> The fox had knowledge of underground things hidden from human eyes, and this he shared with the dreamer telling him of roots and herbs that were healing and curing; then he shared his powers of swiftness and cleverness as well as gentleness. The fox would be holy to the dreamer who would wear in his ceremonies the skin of the animal, and the brotherhood being sworn, the Fox dreamer never hunted or killed the fox. He obtained the skin from those who did.

According to Francis Densmore (1918:314-316), the names for wolves, foxes, and coyotes were often interchangeable as were many of the ceremonial songs associated with these animals. Like other members of the canine family, the fox was regarded as highly *wakan* by the Lakotas (Walker 1980: 101).

In the sacred stories of the Lakotas, the fox is often portrayed as one of the wisest animals. Fox asks the most important question concerning who should be appointed chief by *Ksa*, the Spirit of Wisdom in the Lakota genesis story (Walker 1983:278). He travels with the wolves, coyotes, raccoons, skunks, lynx, wild cats, and mountain lions to the gathering of the animals and presides over all the animals when the deception of *Gnaski* is revealed (Walker 1983:359, 362).

The fox also served as a symbol for one of the Cheyennes' military societies, the *Whokesh'hetaniu,* originally created by Sweet Medicine (Grinnell 1972:2:48, 374; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:60). According to John Stands in Timber (1967:60), "The Swift Fox is a beautiful animal, fleet of foot, who never lets his prey get away from him." As among the Lakotas, Cheyenne Fox Soldiers, who dressed in fox skins, maintained their own lodge and ceremonies, and they were noted for their bravery (Grinnell 1972: 2:56-57). They also played an important role in the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972: 2:231, 249, 250, 344). Wooden Leg told Thomas Marquis (1931:56) that the foxes were one of the three most important soldier societies among the Cheyennes.

In the Cheyenne Animal Dance or *Massaum,* along with the wolf skins placed at the altar, a fox skin was laid on top of the buffalo skull that stood at its center. Two men who dreamed of foxes impersonated the animal, entering the lodge adorned in fox skins that were later painted yellow and blue; they danced towards the altar and around the circle inside the lodge. In the ceremony, the foxes were closely affiliated with those who represented the wolves, and like the birds who were painted in the story of the Great Race, they represented the hunters rather than prey (Grinnell 1972:2: 300-301**,** 323-334).

THE FELINE FAMILY [*FELIDAE*]

Bobcat [*Lynx rufus pallescens*]

Lynx [*Lynx canadensis canadensis*]

Mountain Lion [*Felis conncolor hippolestes*]

Habitat & History

The feline family is represented by three species in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park: the bobcat [*Lynx rufus pallescens*], the mountain lion [*Felis concolor hippolestes*] ,and the lynx [*Lynx canadensis canadensis*] (Turner 1974: 133-134; Froiland 1978:148). Of these, the bobcat is very common in the Hills, while the mountain lion and the lynx are rare (Froiland

1978:139, 144). In the past, however, mountain lions were listed as one of the animals typically found in the Black Hills (Denig in Ewers 1961:6). In 1862, Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:140) made this observation about wild cats:

> Though seldom seen by the traveller, this animal is not rare in any part of the country drained by the Missouri and its tributaries. It is very often caught in traps which the traders set for wolves. The flesh of the wild cat is not unfrequently used for food by the Indians and its skin for ornamental purposes. In the month of January, 1855, I attempted to cross the prairie from Pinnau's spring to the Fur Company's trading-houses near the forks of the Shyenne river, a distance of about thirty miles. Losing my course, I wandered for two days...on the third day came to a lodge of Sioux Indians who had separated from their band, and were subsisting on the products of each day's hunt. The old chief offered me kindly the hospitality of his hut, which I gladly accepted, and on entering the lodge found the inmates quietly watching the carcass of a large wild cat, which was roasting before the fire. As soon as the meat was cooked, the Indians ate of it with keen relish, and placed a portion before me, and though almost famished with hunger, one mouthful was sufficient to satisfy me, and I gladly turned to the more palatable meat of Black-tailed Deer. These animals are caught every year to a greater or lesser extent at Fort Pierre...

In the 1870s, mountain lions and bobcats were still reported as common in the Hills, but lynx were said to be rare (Grinnell 1875: 74; Progulske 1974:122; Turner 1974:133-134). After European American settlers homesteaded on lands in and around the western border of Wind Cave National Park in the 1890s, bobcats continued to be numerous in the area, but mountain lions, while sighted, were uncommon (McAdam 1973: 17-18; Smith, A. 1973:16).

Tribal Taxonomy

The Lakotas call the bobcat *igmu gleska* or *igmu' gleza* [spotted cat], the lynx, *igmu hota* [grey cat], and the mountain lion, *igmu'watogla* [wild or skiddish cat] (Buechel 1970:215). In Cheyenne, the lynx is named *moxkav* (Petter 1913-15:676) and the cougar, *nanose?hame* [he's the best of all] (Petter 1913-15:794; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:63).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:256) reported that the cubs of various wild cats were commonly eaten by the Cheyennes, but only in times of starvation. The Lakotas also hunted cats. White Bull (in Vestal 1934: 162) remembered seeing them in the Black Hills, and another Lakota was reported in a winter count to have killed four mountain lions in the Hills during the year 1845 (Praus 1962:16). Some Lakotas were known to have eaten them too, as Hayden reported, but their consumption was considered very dangerous (Bordeaux 1929: 126; Denig in Ewers 1961:13;Hassrick 1964:168). Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980:169):

> Whoever mutilates *(wicayupxun)* a mountain lion or a wild cat or even a house cat will have terrible things happen to him, it is said. That man's hand leg or foot becomes completely dislocated (iataya napxunpsun), it is said. Therefore, nobody eats cats, they believe. They are very afraid of them…

Royal B. Hassrick (1964:199) also reported that people had to take care when butchering wildcats and not tear their joints; otherwise, they would suffer joint pain. The Lakotas and Cheyennes valued the skins of wildcats for making quivers (Lyford 1940:33; Hassrick 1964; Grinnell 1972:184).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Although wildcats were known to possess spiritual power, with mountain lions considered to be especially *wakan* (Grinnell 1972; Walker 1980:101), there is hardly any information about them in ethnographic sources on the Lakotas or the Cheyennes.

John Moore (1974a:240) claims the Cheyennes classed felines and mustelids together because of the strong smell of their urine, Neither family of animals had any religious significance, even though their various species were considered powerful. In the Lakota genesis story, the bobcat, lynx, and mountain lion were linked together with wolves, raccoons, skunks, and coyotes as traveling companions to the great council of the animals in the Lakota genesis story (Walker 1983:359), and the lynx is also mentioned earlier in the story and classified with the category of animals who possess claws (Walker 1983:271-272).

THE BEAR FAMILY [*URSIDAE*]

Black Bear [*Ursus americanus americanus*]

Grizzly Bear [*Ursus arctos horribilis*]

Habitat & History

Two species from the *Ursidae* family were associated historically with the Black Hills: these are the black bear [*Ursus americanus americanus*] and the grizzly bear [*Ursus arctos horribilis*]. William Clark wrote in 1804*:* "The Black hills is Said to abound in Bear of every kind..." (Moulton 1983-87:3:482). Tabeau (in Abel 1939:163) recounted a year earlier that black bears were common to this region. A half century later, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:6) also mentioned bears as common to the Hills and so did E. De Giradin (1936:62). Another Missouri River fur trader, Thaddeus Culbertson (1952:57), writing in 1851, stated:

> Last night we had a good deal of talk around our fire about the Black Hills. Joe, an experienced hunter, tells me that they are covered with the finest pine timber so thick that a person on horseback cannot pass through it in some places. There is an abundance of fine water but no fish; plenty of other game. Grizzly bears are found there sometimes in bands like buffalo; they live on fruit, meat, and ants; to get to these they turn over the largest logs and eat them off the underside if there.

These reports, coming as they did from the vantage point of the Missouri River, or in the case of Culbertson, the outskirts of the Hills proper, might have been exaggerated. But even as late as the 1870s, Grinnell (1875:76) and Dodge (1965:132-133) described the populations of grizzly and black bear as common. By the late nineteenth century, the grizzly was no longer observed in the Hills (Turner 1974:127-128; Froiland 1978:138). The black bear survived but in considerably reduced numbers (Turner 1974:126-127). Today, the black bear has largely disappeared from the Hills and is no longer found at Wind Cave National Park (Turner 1974:126-127; Froiland 1978:139). At the turn of the twentieth century, Fannie McAdam (1973:17), who grew up on a nearby ranch reported that there were no bears in the Wind Cave area.

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota, the black bear is called *mato* and its cub is known as *matocincala* (Buechel 1970:334), while the grizzly is called by many names including *mato hota* [grey bear] and *sake'hanska* [long claw] (Ibid:334, 460). *Waonze* and *waowescia* are alternate names for the grizzly (Ibid:543). In the Lakotas'sacred language, the bear is addressed as *Hu nunpa* [two-legged] (Walker 1980:50, 94). Cheyennes have many names for the bear also. Their generic name is *nahkohe* or *nahkoheo?o*, and then there are gender and age names as well as names that represent coloration, such as *mato?otse-nahkohe* [a brown colored black bear] and *vohpahtse-nahkohe* [white-mouthed bear or grizzly] (Petter 1913-15:99-101; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:6).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Bears were hunted by the Lakotas and Cheyennes (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Grinnell 1972:1:290), and at least among the Lakotas, they were typically captured in deadfalls (Hassrick 1964:167). Bear meat was eaten by the Cheyennes (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90) and by the Lakotas (Bordeaux 1929:126; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:157). James Howard (1965:41) reported the Poncas remembered hunting bears in the Black Hills during the winter months, and White Bull (in Howard 1998:24) also recalled hunting bears in the area when he was younger.

Bear skins were considered very sacred by both tribes. The Lakotas prohibited menstruating women from tanning them less they get hairy or acquire scabs and black splotches on their faces and hands. It was only after menopause that women took on this task (Hassrick 1964:249; Walker 1980: 159). Similarly, Cheyenne women were prohibited from dressing the hide of a bear. It was believed that the soles of a woman's feet would crack or her face would become hairy like a bear's should she engage in such activity. This task was done either by men or by women from other tribes (Grinnell 1972:1:198, 2:105).

Among the Lakotas, bear skins were worn only by bear dreamers, *Mato ihanblapi*, in their ceremonies and healing rites (Walker 1980:159; Powers, W. 1977:58). Bear guts, which have an iridescent quality, were cut into strips to tie eagle feathers on to the lower end of the bows used by members of the Oglala's Sacred Bow Society (Blish 1934:183; Brown 1992:18). Among the Cheyennes, they were tied to the bows carried by the Contraries (Grinnell 1972:1:81). The Lakotas also used bear claws in association with warfare because they were believed to offer protection to the wearer (Densmore 1918:267; Bordeaux 1929:112; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:167, 178-179, 230, 278), and in connection with healing to clean wounds (Densmore 1918:253; Standing Bear 1978:215). The Cheyennes took the skins of the black bears, which they considered sacred, to cover their war shields. They also attached bear claws to these shields (Grinnell 1972:188, 193, 194, 198-199, 290, 2:74) and tied them on the head of the yellow-painted dancer in their Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:280). The Cheyennes also used the hind leg bones of bears to make fleshers (Curtis 1907-30:5:156).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Bears were highly revered by the Lakotas, who associated them with numerous qualities including strength, courage, and wisdom (Walker 1980:50-51, 53, 116, 121, 128, 227; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995: 109-110). The grizzly bear was considered the principal guardian of wisdom (Walker 1980: 50-51, 94). With respect to courage, Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:53) had this to say: "The bear is not only a powerful animal in body but powerful in will also. He will stand and fight to the last. Though wounded he will not run but will die fighting." The black bear, *matosapa*, was believed to preside over bravery, but also fun and mischief as well as the emotions of love and anger (No Flesh in Walker 1980:116; Tyon in Walker 1980:121). The bear was associated with success in warfare, and it was approached to insure the proper conduct of sacred ceremonies, including the Sun Dance and the *Hunka* (Walker 1980:227, 231, 232). Both species of bears, especially the grizzly, were closely linked to herbal medicine and healing (Dorsey, J. 1894:495). As Siyaka told Francis Densmore (1918:195):

> The bear is quick-tempered and is fierce in many ways, and yet he pays attention to herbs which no other animal notices at all. The bear digs these for his own use. The bear is the only animal which eats roots from the earth and is also especially fond of acorns, june berries, and cherries. These three are frequently compounded with other herbs in making medicine, and if a person is fond of cherries we say he is like a bear. We consider the bear as chief of all animals in

> regard to herb medicine, and therefore it is understood that if a man dreams of a bear he will be expert in the use of herbs for curing illness. The bear is regarded as an animal well acquainted with herbs because no other animal has such good claws for digging roots.

As a matter of practical observation, Standing Bear (1988:49-51) wrote about the bear as follows:

> The bear is very sensitive to the presence of man or other creatures and relies upon his nose a great deal to warn him. Standing up on his hind legs, he will thrust his nose in the air and sniff in all directions. In this way he keeps apprised of the things about him. In the matter of food the bear eats everything that the Indian eats. He likes the wild turnip that we used to dig up for food. With his long claws he digs up this plant and enjoys it very much. All the wild fruit that we ate, he ate also. For meat he would catch small animals and deer. He has a very clever way of hiding if he wishes to surprise a deer. He selects a spot along the deer path and burrows into the ground a hole large enough to cover his body. He gets into the hole and carefully spreads himself with grass and leaves until he is hidden. Here he is until the deer comes along, and out he jumps with a swish and is upon the surprised deer. Always he strikes with the left paw, for he is left-handed.
>
> In many ways he is so much like a human that he is interesting to watch. He has a large amount of human vanity and likes to look at himself. Before we had looking-glasses, we would look at ourselves in a clear pool of water. This the bear does, too, and I suppose he thinks, 'Well, I'm not such a bad-looking fellow,' for he walks away after an inspection of himself quite satisfied, and as for myself I do not see why he should not be. He is wise and clever and probably knows it. He likes to beautify himself by painting his face with earth mixed with water. He finds a clear pool in which he can plainly see himself, then takes some earth in his paw and mixes it with water until he has a paste. This he spreads on the left side of his face, never on the right side. Then he looks at himself in his mirror of water. If not satisfied with his first attempt at beautifying, he repeats his work until he has the side of his face fixed up as he should have it.
>
> He hides himself away in some safe cave or hollow log and sleeps through the winter when other animals are braving the storms trying to get food enough to pull through until spring.

In Lakota cosmology, the bear was classed by James Walker (1980:50-51, Lone Bear in Densmore 1918:128) as a supreme spiritual figure among the *Tobtob* (4x4), standing in the third rank of subordinate gods, which included *Tatanka*, the Four Winds, and the Whirlwind. The bear was highly *wakan* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101:101), and one of the messengers of the Thunders (Beckwith, M. 1930:12n412). The bear is another animal who embodies the power of the whirlwind (Wissler 1905:262). Although the bear is associated in some contexts with the Thunders and the West Wind, he is also mentioned as coming from the direction of the North Wind, *Waziyata*, in a healing song recorded by Francis Densmore (1918:197). As Lone Bear (in Walker 1980: 128) said of the bear's sacredness:

> *Hunonp* is the language of the shamans. It is the Spirit of the Bear who is of the *Tobtob*. He taught the shamans all their secrets. No one can talk with *Hunonp* without understanding the language of the shamans. The Bear knows all things about *Tobtob.* He knows all things about medicines. He took pity on the Sioux when the spirits were angry with them. The spirits were angry with the Sioux because they left the middle of the world.

This idea was reiterated by Two Shields (in Densmore 1918:195) who said:

> The bear is the only animal which is dreamed of as offering to give herbs for the healing of man. The bear is not afraid of either animals or men and it is considered ill tempered, and yet it is the only animal which has shown us this kindness; therefore

> the medicines received from the bear are supposed to be especially effective.

The Lakota who dreamed of bears were expected to become healers (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:105). Establishing a spiritual relation with bears was highly regarded by the Lakotas because it allowed healers to treat "all ordinary diseases" (Tyon in Walker 1980:161). William Bordeaux (1929: 109) indicates that these healers had knowledge of roots to treat severe forms of pleurisy, and they had the ability to "suck" illnesses out of their patients. In addition, these healers were also able to treat the wounded (Wissler 1912:88; Walker 1980:90, 91; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:178-179, 278; Ingram 1989:182). Indeed, only people who received bear medicine were allowed to treat most kinds of wounds (Walker 1980:105, 161).

There are many narratives about Lakota bear dreamers [*Mato inhanblapi*] in the literature and also descriptions of their ceremonial performances [*Mato kaga*] and powers (Curtis 1907-30:3:63-64; Densmore 1918: 196-197; Hassrick 1964:237, 239, 250; Standing Bear 1978:215; 1988:52; Sword in Walker 1980:91-92; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:105; Red Hawk in Walker 1980:136; Tyon in Walker 1980:157-159; DeMallie 1984; Powers, W. 1986:187-188; Ingram 1989: 182-183; Lewis, T. 1990:106-108). Women, according to Clark Wissler (1912: 88), never dreamed of bears, although Mark St. Pierre and Tilda Long Soldier (1995:21, 138, 144-145, 147, 194, 195) offer several stories of contemporary female bear dreamers. When a man displayed the bear powers he received in a dream, he became a *Mato kaga*, a bear performer whose feats Clark Wissler (1912:88-89) described as follows:

> At the feast the medicines are displayed. Sometimes a shaman displays his abilities by suddenly hitting the earth upon which a turnip or a small cedar tree springs up. An informant heard of a shaman putting up a plum tree, a juneberry, or cherry tree, and when the singers were singing and beating the drum, he sat there with his face painted up wakan and suddenly shook the tree upon which the fruit fell to the ground.

He then went on to say:

> Bear dreamers may dance at the time of their feast and parade around, often donning a bear skin. They may run about camp growling and chasing people. They may sit about like bears, and feeling around upon the ground, dig up a turnip and eat it with grunts like bears. They may even fall upon a dog, tear it to pieces, eat the liver and some of the flesh raw. Also in battle they may attempt to frighten the enemy by such actions (Wissler 1912:89).

Lakota men who dream of bears still practice their healing powers in modern times. Although some appear to do so independently, many use their spiritual talents in the context of making herbal remedies or conducting *Yuwipi* ceremonies (Feraca 1963:40; Fire and Erdoes 1972:153-154; Lewis, T. 1990:108). Among the various plants that Fools Crow, the famous Lakota medicine man, used in his pharmacopeia was one associated with bears. Thomas Mails (1991: 165) wrote of this as follows:

> A certain root bears used was ground up and made into a tea that relieved bowel pains. This one Fools Crow told me he learned about by watching bears, but I doubt that he had any way of knowing what their exact problem was. He must have tested the root, and found out what it would do.

In court testimony, Fools Crow had this to say about the relationship between bears and healing:

> To all the different medicine men, or medicine powers, the bear is the most powerful. The bear holds the secret of the roots and herbs that can cure a lot of diseases the medicines [Euro-American pharmaceuticals] cannot. This is why Bear Butte is especially important and sacred for the medicine men who use herbs and roots

> and other forms of plant life to cure diseases and who have to go to Bear Butte regularly to renew their power to cure diseases and sickness (*quoted from* Forbes-Boyte 1996:106).

The figure of the bear appears in many Lakota stories of *Piya* and the Stone Boy (Walker 1983:128-129, 137, 144-145,147, 148-151, 152). In the Lakota genesis cycle, the bear is placed in the class of those with claws, and because he foiled *Inktomi*'s plans at the great gathering, he was given leadership over all the animals (Walker 1983:269-274, 359-361). He is ranked with the *tobtob*, teaches the buffalo a dance that pleases higher order deities, like *Taku Skanskan*, and instructs the first man, *Tokahe*, on how to heal with herbs (Walker 1983:297-300, 350, 375).

More so than the Lakotas, who associated the bear mostly with healing, the Cheyennes appear to have placed equal emphasis on its relation to warfare. The bear's strength and courage and its death-defying abilities were much admired by Cheyenne warriors who painted their shields with bear imagery and covered them with bear skins too (Grinnell 1972:1:188, 193). When their shields were wrapped in bear skins, offerings were made to the bear for protection in battle (Ibid:198-199), and when bears were killed, the Cheyenne counted coup on them (Ibid:2:30). Still, Cheyennes received medicine from bears for healing (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:152-153). The bear was believed to be a great medicine animal because it was not only able to heal itself but also heal other bears (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:105). Bears and their power were associated with the spiritual strengths of the earth and underworld, and as among the Lakotas, there was a spiritual bear figure, who was white and known as *voxpenakao* (Moore, J. 1974a:163, 239). Cheyenne Contraries were believed to receive their healing powers from grizzly bears (Powell 2002a:69). People with bear guardians took on some of the traits of a bear when they doctored (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:112), and, at one time, they participated in a dance called the *Nako-yosuisto* [Bear Dance] (Hayden 1862b:281). Wooden Leg told Thomas Marquis (1931: 101) about a bear healer who used the tusks of the animal in his healings. Bear images were also sometimes carved onto the mouthpieces of Cheyenne flutes, suggesting an association with love and courting (Grinnell 1972:1:205). In general, the bear was considered to possess great spiritual power and was once represented in the *Massaum* ceremony (Grinnell 1972:2:334-335).

THE MUSTELID FAMILY [*MUSTELIDAE*]

Several mustelid species, especially badgers and skunks, are very common in the Black Hills and in the area where Wind Cave National Park is located. Some of the species, notably badger and skunk, were reported as common in the 1870s too, although mink and other fur-bearing mustelids were not as numerous (Grinnell 1875: 75; Progulske 1974:122). Most of the fur-bearers declined considerably in subsequent decades, and one, the black-footed ferret, has probably been extirpated from most areas of the Hills. Another species, the otter, was common on some of the larger waterways surrounding the Hills, but its historic presence at locations inside the Hogback is doubtful. With the exception of badgers and skunks, which were valued as food, most of the other mustelids were taken for their furs which were highly valued as adornment for various kinds of ceremonial regalia. Most of them were sacred and connected in varying degrees and ways to healing.

Badger (*Taxidea taxus taxus*)

Habitat & History

While uncommon at the higher elevations of the Black Hills proper, the badger is very abundant in the lower elevation foothills and around the Race Track especially at Wind

Cave National Park (Turner 1974:132). It was also reported as abundant in the general region in earlier times (Hayden 1862b:143).

Tribal Taxonomy

The badger is known as *hoka* in Lakota (Buechel 1970:195) and *ma?hahko?e* in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15:82; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center: 5).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Badgers were hunted by the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, and their meat was considered good food (Bordeaux 1929:126; Beckwith 1930:381; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:169; Grinnell 1972:1:256). A common method of hunting was to trap them in specially made pens (Hassrick 1964, 168). According to Royal B. Hassrick (I964: 169): "Some hunters were so nimble they could kill a badger by jumping on its back with both feet. Others never could do this, but instead landed on the badger's chest, for badgers turn over quickly. These men got badly bitten." Lakota boys also kept young badgers as pets (Ibid:172).

There is not much information on the use of badger skins, however, although an elderly Cheyenne woman, Iron Teeth, told Thomas Marquis (and Limbaugh 1973:7) that badger skins were used to carry dried berries. The Arapahos are reported to have offered a pack of badger skins to the center pole during their Sun Dance (Trenholm 1970:73). The Lakotas are known to have made medicine pouches out of badger paws (Densmore 1918:253), and Lame Deer (Fire and Erdoes 1972:133) noted the use of the animal's pizzle as an awl.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Badgers were regarded as very powerful by the Lakotas and the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:105;Tyon in Walker 1980:169). Iron Shell told Royal B. Hassrick (1964:168):

> The badger is very strong. When a man kills a badger, if he turns it on its back, cuts open its chest and carefully removes its insides so that no blood is lost, when the blood thickens, by looking in the hunter can see his image. Should he see himself as he is, he knows he will die young. But if he sees himself as an old man with white hair, he cries, 'Hye, hye,' thanking the spirits. Now he knows he can risk getting many coup and will live long to die with a cane in his hand.

Lame Deer (Fire and Erdoes 1972:133) and Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:170) also reported how the Lakotas forecasted the future by reading a dead badger's blood.

The same kind of divination practice was described for the Cheyennes (Petter 1913-15:74; Grinnell 1972:2:26-27; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:29). Petter (1913-15:74) writes about this divination as follows:

> As with the Romans the Cheyenne priests would foetell future events by the state or position of the entrails of animals, foremost the badger; also by the images repesented in his coagulating blood. The animal was cut in two halves while alive. The fur of the badger enrwraps the sacred arrows of the Cheyenne and those are also used as omens for the tribe.

Among the Lakotas, badgers, like bears, were closely associated with herbs and healing. Eagle Shield told Francis Densmore (1918:266) whenever he dug for certain kinds of roots, he left some tobacco to the badger. The badger was especially connected with treatments for children. Its fat was used sometimes for treating baldness (Fire and Erdoes 1972:172) and also to heal scrofula (Tyon in Walker 1980:169-170). The Cheyennes used badger claws in making medicines, and they also used their skins in doctoring (Grinnell 1972:1:134, 146). Badgers also appeared as spiritual guardians to assist Cheyennes in healing (Grinnell 1972:2:151). The badger represented the feminine principle of the earth, and its skin once wrapped the Cheyennes' sacred arrows (Moore, J. 1974a:163). The

Cheyennes prayed and smoked to the badger, and they often offered a portion of their food to the animal. When a pipe was offered to the earth, it was thought that it was dedicated in part to the badger (Grinnell 1972:2:105).

The badger served as a spiritual guardian for Lakota and Cheyenne warriors as well (Grinnell 1972:114-115; Brown 1992). The Cheyennes believed that badgers cleansed the blood spots from their Sacred Arrows when they were renewed. They thought of the animal as a wise counselor (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). This animal stood as the symbol of one of the Lakotas' most important military societies, the *Ihoka* (Walker 1980:260, 265; Densmore 1992:325-326). Among its many roles, the society was entrusted with policing the communal buffalo hunts, supervising the distribution of meat, and keeping order in the larger hunting encampments (Hassrick 1964:16, 173,203; Walker 1982:32). Clark Wissler (1912:31-32) described some features of this society's rituals, which were believed to have originated with the Crow tribe.

In the Lakota story in which the animals try to choose a chief the badger is linked to the community of diggers which includes wolves, prairie dogs, and gophers (Walker 1983: 270-271), but in the story of the gathering of the animals, the badger is connected to the prairie dogs, gophers and rabbits but not to the wolves (Walker 1983:358-359). The badger is also one of the animals that punished *Gnaski* for his deceit; the badger's weapons were his claws (Walker 1983:362).

Striped Skunk [*Mephitis mephitis husonica*]

Habitat & History

The striped skunk is commonly found in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park, and in historic times it was reported as abundant on the plains west of the Missouri River (Hayden 1862b:143; Tabeau in Abel 1939:82; Progulske 1974:122).

Tribal Taxonomy

The skunk is called *manka* in Lakota (Buechel 1970:328) and *xao?o* in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15:978; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976: 102).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Skunks were hunted by the Lakotas, who considered their meat good for making people fat (Bordeaux 1929:126; Left Heron in Beckwith, M. 1930:380-381,420; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964: 168). The Lakotas cut their fur into strips for neck decorations and used entire hides for pouches to keep tobacco (Standing Bear 1978: 34). Young skunks were also kept as pets by children (Hassrick 1964:172). The Cheyenne considered skunk meat good food as well (Grinnell 1972:1:256), and women were reported to hunt them with clubs (Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9). The Cheyennes used skunk skins for a variety of different purposes:they were sewn into robes, their tails were tied to a horse's tail in war, and warriors, known as the Dog Soldiers, wore belts made of four skunk skins prepared with the heads intact (Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Dorsey, G. 1905:21). Images of skunks were also painted on robes and lodges, and they were engraved on seeds that women used in a gambling game (Grinnell 1972:2: 104).

The Lakotas kept the scent bags of skunks and smeared its musk on the body as a preventive medicine and also to treat colds. It was considered a good medicine (Bordeaux 1929:109; Beckwith, M. 1930: 420; Standing Bear 1978:34). The Cheyennes also believed that skunks possessed healing power (and put their medicine in bags made from the skins of skunks (Grinnell 1972:2:104) One Cheyenne healer was known to doctor with a skunk skin (Grinnell 1972:1: 146).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Although skunks were associated with both healing and war, there is little about them in the literatures on either the Cheyennes or the Lakotas. According to Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:34), the Lakotas associated the skunk with the earth in a manner similar to the badger because of his courage and "no-flight" qualities. In the Lakota genesis story, the skunk is not grouped and classified with other animals but stands by itself and battles against the porcupine during a general state of disharmony created by *Inktomi* and *Gnaski* (Walker 1983:269-272,), although later in the genesis cycle, skunks travel with foxes, coyotes, wolves, wild cats, the lynx, mountain lions, and raccoons to the great gathering of the animals (Walker 1983:358-362).

Otter
[*Lutra canadensis canadensis*]

Habitat & History

There is some question whether otters were ever present in the Black Hills (Froiland 1978:149). Even in the early nineteenth century, otter were apparently rare, inhabiting only the larger watercourses like the Cheyenne River (Tabeau in Abel 1939:83). Although otters remained common in streams that flowed into the Missouri from the north in the 1860s, their skins were imported to the region every year to trade with local tribes who placed great value on them (Hayden 1862b:143).

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota, the otter goes by two names, *ptan* and *hepan* [word used for it in sacred discourse], and *skeca* (Buechel 1970:47, 464), and in Cheyenne, it is called *naene* (Petter 1913-15:780; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:77).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Otters were hunted by the Lakotas and Cheyennes largely for their furs which were favored for their thick and soft texture (Standing Bear 1988:60, 61). Cheyennes reported the meat was not good (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Grinnell 1972:1:256), and at least one Lakota claimed they were never eaten (Bordeaux 1929:126). The Cheyennes often shot them as they came out of the water in the same way beavers were killed (Grinnell 1972:1:296).

Otterskins were wrapped around men's hair braids, and they were highly valued for quivers (Standing Bear 1988:23,60, Curtis 1907-30:3:29, 105, 137; Hassrick 1964: 199). The otter was a sacred animal to the Lakotas (Walker 1980:101), and its pelts adorned many different kinds of sacred implements and regalia. Indeed, otterskins were so powerful that women who touched them while they were menstruating were likely to become ill and even die (Walker 1980:168). Sun Dancers wore otterskin capes which signified the power of water and land (Walker 1980:177, 183). The *Wic'iska* (White Marked Society) used otterskin in their regalia and so did members of the Beaver Society (Wissler 1912:34-35; Walker 1980:277). The *Tokala* fastened fox bones to an otterskin which was worn on their forehead (Wissler 1912:15-16), and they wore wristlets and leg garters made of this pelt (Walker 1980:272, 274; Brown 1992:17). *Miwatani* members wore buffalo robes adorned with two strips of otterskin (Wissler 1912:47), while the *Winyan tapika* (Praiseworthy women) wore bands of otterskin around their forehead (Wissler 1912: 76). The whips used by the Brave Hearts had guards made of otterskin (Wissler 1912: 26), and their lances were wrapped with otterskin from instructions given by a wolf spirit to a war party near the Black Hills. Those of the *Kangi yuha* [Crow Owners] were similarly wrapped (Wissler 1912:24, 72; Walker 1980:280; Brown 1992:17). Hoops used in the Sun Dance were covered

with otterskin and represented the sun (Walker 1980:182), and medicine sacks were also made from this pelt (Brown 1992:17).

Cheyenne men also wrapped their braids in otterskin and prized the pelt as a covering for bow cases and quivers (Grinnell 1972:1: 184, 196, 222). Otterskins were attached to some of the vikuts that Cheyenne warriors used for carrying water (Grinnell 1972:2: 24), and the *hohktsim'* or wheel lance's shaft was covered with this fur (Grinnell 1972:1: 187). The Cheyenne had no prohibitions against women preparing otterskins, although they did prevent them from processing beaver peltries (Grinnell 1972:2: 104, 198).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Although the Lakotas and Cheyennes considered the otter sacred, there is little in the literature about the qualities that made this animal special. Decost Smith (1949:331) offered one possible explantion for its importance:

> The otter is especially 'medicine' in that it is supposed, when under water to surround itself with a glistening mist or cloud, which makes it invisible to both prey and its enemies. This, of course, the Indians ascribe to the animal's supernatural powers, but it probably refers to the film, or bubble of air which adheres to the dry fur, or feathers, of such diving creatures as the muskrat and grebe while swimming under water. The pressure of the water forces out the air contained in the fur, or feathers, to the surface of which it clings in a silvery film, so that the animal emerges from the water dry.

Standing Bear (1988:60) also made some general remarks about what he observed of this animal when he was a young boy:

> We seldom saw the otter in the summer time, but in the winter he is out in considerable numbers and much more lively and playful than in the summer. He is not a fast runner, but has a way of combining running and sliding in order to make speed if he is being pursued. He can flip himself over on his back and slide over the snow at a good pace. In shape he has a long body and short legs. He is a good swimmer, but makes more speed on land, where he can throw himself on his back for a swift slide.

In the gathering of the animals described in the Lakota genesis story, the otter was placed with the beaver and other fur-bearing animals (Walker 1983:359, 360).

Weasels and Associates [*Mustela*]

Habitat & History

Four different *Mustela* species are identified in the Black Hills: these are the ermine [*Mustela erminea muricu*], the long-tailed weasel [*Mustela frenata allen*], the black-footed ferret [*Mustela nigripes*], and the mink [*Mustela vison letifer*]. The ermine and weasel are largely confined to higher elevation locations in the Hills, while the weasel is common throughout the area in a wide variety of riparian environments. Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:142-143) described the weasel as common in the region and an animal whose fur was highly valued by local tribes. Mink were also present in the region in the 1870s, but they were not numerous (Progulske 1974:122); the same is true today. The black-footed ferret is an endangered species. Even though the park contains a habitat well-suited for its existence, including the presence of prairie dogs, its primary prey, the last reported sighting was in 1977 (Turner 1974:129-132; Farrell 2002 Personal Communication).

Tribal Taxonomy

In the Lakota language, weasels and ermines are identified by the same name, *(h)itunkasan*, which refers to their tendency to show their teeth (Riggs 1968:148; Buechel 1970:178), while the black-footed ferret is called *itopta sapa* because of the black stripe across its face (Buechel 1970:272). Another name reported for it is *pispiza etopta sapa* [black-faced prairie dog], suggesting its

close relationship to the rodent (Clark 1975: 73). Its special food is the spurge, *Euphorbia margenta* or snow-on-the-mountain, which the Lakotas believe commonly grows in the neighborhood of the prairie dog towns that ferrets typically frequent (Buechel 1970:272). The mink is called *ikusan* [white chin] (Ibid:223). The Cheyennes call the weasel, ermine, and mink by the same name, *xaa?e* (Petter 1913-15:440). There is little substantive information on the use of these small animals or their place in Cheyenne cosmology, although Grinnell (1972: 2:122-123) reported that weasel tails were attached to special charms used in warfare, and Rudolphe Petter (1913-15:440) states that their name derives from their peculiar smell (this includes the skunk too). They appear, however, as characters in a number of Cheyenne stories (Grinnell 1926).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

These small fur-bearing animals were never eaten by the Lakotas (Bordeaux 1929:126). They were highly valued, however, for their peltries. The Lakotas employed many different kinds of devices to trap them (Hassrick 1964:167). Weasel skins were used to wrap sacred bundles and amulets (Lewis 1990:110). Among the Lakotas, the skins of these small mustelids were worn only by special people, such as the *walowan* or singer, who conducted a *Hunka* or a *Pte San Lowanpi* ceremony (Walker 1980:223, 246). The sashes worn by the sash bearers of the *Miwatani* society were adorned with bits of weasel fur (Wissler 1912:46). Medicine bags were also made from the entire skins of minks, weasels, and ferrets (Densmore 1918:253, 1948:177; Smith, D. 1949:331). Outside of ceremonial contexts, ermine, mink, and weasel skins were sometimes cut into strips as decoration for men's shirts, dresses, and headdresses (Lyford 1940:33; Brown 1992:18). William Bordeaux (1929: 113) wrote that weasel skins were sewn on war shirts to protect their wearers from being wounded, and their tails were used in treating the sick. According to Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:168), however, the skins had to be handled and worn with great care. Men could not touch them after being with a woman, and women were not allowed to come near them while menstruating; if they did, they would suffer pain or serious illness.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

In Lakota belief, weasels, ermines, and black-footed ferrets were considered highly *wakan* (Bordeaux 1929:113; Buechel 1970: 242; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980: 101; Tyon in Walker 1980:168). Indeed, Father Eugene Buechel (1970:242) reported that people did not kill ferrets because such an act would bring death to the killer. Mustelids were classed with beaver and muskrat in the story of the gathering of the animals (Walker 1983:359, 362). But other than this information, there is little about them in the ethnographic literature on the Lakotas. They apparently do not have any special religious significance among the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1974a:240).

The Procyons [*Procynidae*]

Racoon [*Procyon lotor hirtus*]

Habitat & History

The only species of the *Procyonidae* family found in the Hills is the raccoon. Today, it is located throughout the area in riparian habitats (Turner 1974:128; Froiland 1978:148). According to Ronald Turner (1974:128), the pelt of this species is still a marketable commodity, although he does not specify whether or not coon hunting remains an economic endeavor for any of the European Americans who live in the Hills. This species appears to have come to the Hills with the advance of the "American Frontier," as its presence is not recorded in the accounts

of naturalists who were in the region from the 1850s to the 1870s (Grinnell 1875; Dodge 1965; Turner 1974:128), nor is it mentioned in an earlier account with exhaustive descriptions of the region's faunal landscape (Tabeau in Abel 1939). Indeed, Ferdinand Hayden (1862:143) wrote that it was not observed beyond the mouth of the White River in the 1850s.

Tribal Taxonomy

In the Lakota language, the raccoon is called *wica* or *wiciteglega* [spotted face] (Buechel 1970:576), while in Cheyenne, it is named *matseskome* (Petter 1913-15:881; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:88). There is hardly any mention of this animal other than its name in the ethnographic literature on the Cheyennes, although it does appear in a number of Cheyenne stories (Grinnell 1926). There is more about this species in writings on the Lakotas, but it is still small compared to what has been written about many of the other animals presently located in the Black Hills.

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

The Lakotas hunted raccoons for their meat as well as fur (Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Hassrick 1964:167; Standing Bear 1988:61). They were trapped in pens (Hassrick 1964: 168) and caught in other ways too. According to Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964:169):

> In winter, if a man found raccoon tracks at the foot of a hollow tree, he would put hay and sticks in the hole, stuffing them in, set fire to it and wait. When smoke appears, either the raccoon will fall down through the fire, dead and half-cooked, or will climb out the upper hole and jump. When he lands, he can be killed with a club.

Raccoon fur was used in the making of hunting caps (Standing Bear 1978:34), and the tail of the raccoon was placed as a decoration around the necks of a ponies (Standing Bear 1988:61).

Standing Bear (1988:61) described some of the unusual habits of the raccoon:

> If a coon happened to be making his home in a tree, it was rather easy to catch him, but he had another home where he was hard to reach. The entrance to this home was under water. From the bank under the stream he burrowed up above the water-line to his den. Foxes and other animals could not reach him here, so he was safe. The coon can do something that no other animal can do, and that is walk, trot, or gallop on the bed of a stream under water just as any other animal does on land. All other animals must swim when in the water.....In the winter-time his tracks could be seen in the snow leading to the hole in the ice through which he went to his burrow in the river banks.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

In the Lakota genesis saga, the raccoon is a central figure in a tale where it is likened to humans because, it often walks on two legs. In this story, it serves as the assistant and friend of *Iktomi* who adopts two of their babies but is unable to care for them. He tries to give them to *Anog Ite* who refuses to take them and in the process curses all women and little children with pain and fear. The babes are then taken to *Wakanka* who agrees to take them under her tutelage, but in the process tells *Iktomi* that the infants will grow up to be tricky like him and that they will be linked to the *Can Oti* [Tree Dwellers] and have no spirit (Walker 1983: 287-289). Unlike many of the other animals, who consistently get put together in the same taxonomic classes, the raccoon is included along with the beaver, squirrel, and mouse among the animals known as the "builders" (Walker 1983:271). However, in another segment of the Lakotas' creation story, it gets linked with the carnivores (Walker 1983:359). Other than this, there is little information about Lakota beliefs surrounding raccoons, and none that would suggest this animal was highly significant in spiritual or religious terms.

Rabbits
[*Lagomorpha*]

The members of the Lagomorpha order had practical and symbolic value for both tribes, although some of the meanings behind their uses in ceremonial contexts are not always well articulated in ethnographic sources.

THE RABBIT FAMILY [*LEPORIDAE*]

Habitat & History

The *Leporidae* family is represented by four species native to the Black Hills, the desert cottontail [*Sylvilagus audubonii baileyi*], the eastern cottontai [*Sylvilagus foridanus similes*], Nuttall's cottontail [*Sylvilagus nuttallii grangeri*], and the white-tailed jack rabbit [*Lepus townsendii campanius*] (Turner 1974:59). The desert cottontail and the jackrabbit are the most common at Wind Cave National Park (Ibid:60), but eastern and Nuttall's cottontail are also present here (Ibid:60-63). Since rabbits and hares are ubiquitous to the region, they were not singled out for special mention in many early historical reports or specifically linked to the Black Hills. Pierre Antoine Tabeau (in Abel 1939:81-82), however, does give a description of the jackrabbit, and Ferdinand V. Hayden (1862b:148) reported the distribution and habitat of three species in the area.

Tribal Taxonomy

The Lakotas call rabbits *mastinca, mastinka,* or *mastinsapela* (Buechel 1970:333-334) with the latter name probably referring to hares. In Cheyenne, they are known as *vohkoohe* (Petter 1913-15:881; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:87).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

All rabbits were commonly taken by the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, and they were considered a good source of food (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Denig in Ewers 1961:13). They were an especially popular prey for Lakota boys in their formative years of hunting; their typical mode of hunting was to surround the animal and kill it with clubs (Hassrick 1964:168; Standing Bear 1988:13-15; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 158-159). Not surprisingly, they are often the prey of magical orphan boys, such as Falling Star and Stone Boy, who appear in tribal myth cycles (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:399). They were also commonly hunted by women (Hassrick 1964:168). The Cheyennes caught rabbits with baited hooks attached to horsehair lines, or by twisting them out of a hollow log with a forked stick (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:89).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Rabbits were respected for their industry and their ability to travel at night (Beckwith, M. 1930:380), and thus, they were sometimes associated with warfare. Clark Wissler (1912:95) mentions one Lakota who was noted for his war medicine having had dreams of a rabbit. Before the Sun Dance, a member of one of the the Cheyennes' soldier societies kills a rabbit; this is believed to bring good fortune in counting a coup in his next battle (Grinnell 1972:1:218). The skins of jackrabbits are used in various contexts during the Cheyenne Sun Dance; for example, strips of their fur are tied to the Sun Dance leader's robe because this animal is believed to "belong" to the dance (Ibid:1:218, 263, 2:232; Powell 1969:2: 859). In Lakota Sun Dances, bands of rabbit fur are tied around the wrists and ankles of Sun dancers (Densmore 1918:125; Sword in Deloria 1929:391). As Black Elk (in Brown 1971:85) describes this use: "The men also put rabbit skins on their arms and legs, for the rabbit represents humility,

because he is quiet and soft and not self-asserting -- a quality which we must all possess when we go to the center of the world." The Lakota *Wic'iska* (White Marked society) wore a headdress with strips of rabbit or eagle down (Wissler 1912:34), and the sash bearers of the *Miwatani* Society adorned their sashes with rabbit ears (Wissler 1912:46). The symbolic significance of these uses, however, was not identified. Also, the Cheyenne tied strips of rabbit skin around the hoop of an antelope hunting pole (Grinnell 1972:1:284). The soft fur of the rabbit was commonly used as a decorative ornamentation outside of ritual contexts (Lyford 1940:33).

Another symbolic association linked rabbits and twins, who were thought to ride a jackrabbit as they searched for a mother (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:380). Twins were viewed as highly sacred by the Lakotas, and according to James Owen Dorsey (1894: 482-483), they were believed to have a "superhuman origin" and strong spiritual powers. Like blacktail deer, rabbits carried qualities associated with pairing, mirrors, and reflections in water. Before birth, twins purportedly rode jackrabbits to the place where their prospective mother went for water (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:482).

Rodents [*Rodentia*]

The Rodent Order, according to Ronald Turner (1974:63), is the largest order in the Black Hills both in reference to the number of its different species and in terms of the sheer size of the populations identified with these species.

THE PORCUPINE FAMILY [*ERETHIONIDAE*]

The *Erethionidae* family of rodents is represented by one species in the Black Hills, the porcupine.

Porcupine [Erthizon dorsatum bruneri]

Habitat & History

In reference to the porcupine, Tabeau (Abel 1939:82) remarked "The porcupine abounds on the banks of all the little wooded rivers; but this little animal, so delicious elsewhere, is not eatable here, so thin it is in every season." This species remains very common today on the plains, in the Black Hills, and at Wind Cave National Park (Turner 1974: 143, 144).

Tribal Taxonomy

The porcupine is known as *pahin* in Lakota (Beuchel 1970:425) and as *heskovestse* [thorny-one] in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15: 842; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:83).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

The porcupine was widely hunted by the tribal nations of the northern plains for its meat and quills (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Lyford 1940:42). John Ewers (1938:59) asserts that capturing porcupines was "men's work." Later ethnographic descriptions, however, reveal that both men and women hunted porcupines in gender specific ways. Women and men twisted and tangled their fur by using sticks and killed them with clubs after they were dragged from their dens (Ewers 1938:59; Hassrick 1964:168), but men appear to have been the only ones who pursued them with bows and arrows (Ewers 1938: 59; Lyford 1940:42).

As Standing Bear (1975:16-17) wrote, referring to his childhood in the nineteenth century: "In those days we used to eat porcupine. Every portion of the body was used." The Lakotas and the Cheyennes made combs and hairbrushes from the tail of a porcupine (Densmore 1948:177; Grinnell 1972:2:211,255, 310; Standing Bear 1975:

16-17, 1978:34, 188; Walker 1982:52), and they used the animal's hair to make head roaches (Standing Bear 1975:16-17, 1978: 34). But their most important application was the use of their quills in embellishing a wide range of material objects. Among the Lakotas, these included: moccasins, cradleboard covers, warshirts, armlets, hair ornaments, buffalo robes, moccasins, saddle bags and blankets, navel amulets, pipe bags, pipestems, bladder cases, knife cases, and gauntlets (Wissler 1904:234-235, 242-245, 250-251, 1910:235, 238, 242, 244, 252, 260, 265; Ewers 1938:61; Lyford 1940:14, 21, 27, 29, 41-55; Standing Bear 1975:16-17, 1978:3). Among the Cheyennes, quills ornamented dresses, warshirts, hair wrappings, robes, baby cradles, moccasins, saddles, lodges, backrests, flutes, buckskin bags, and pipestems (Grinnell 1972:1:56, 60, 99, 147, 161, 168, 204-205, 207, 224, 243, 245, 346).

Dyed porcupine quills also decorated sacred objects used in ceremonies. Among the Lakotas, for example, Sun Dancers wear a feather wrapped with red dyed porcupine quills (Sword in Deloria 1929:391; Walker 1980:179), and invitation wands for the *Hunka* are made of eagle feathers decorated with dyed porcupine quills (Walker 1980: 221). The preparation of quills for embroidery and wrapping are described in Carrie Lyford's work (1940:41-55), but there are other descriptions as well (Ewers 1938:59-61; Hassrick 1964: 191-193; Grinnell 1972:164, 166-167, 218-220).

Cheyenne women formed a quilling society, the *Me e no'ist st*, which included only the most prolific and talented quillers. The society was divided into grades reflecting the quillers' levels of accomplishment and difficulty. George Grinnell (1972:1:159-169) describes this society and the prestige it accorded to its members in great detail. Among the Cheyennes, the origin of quillwork came from the same man who married a buffalo woman and raced against his in-laws in the famous story of the Great Race (Grinnell 1972:1:163-164, 2:385-391). The buffalo woman story came from the Suhtaio division of the tribe, and, in some renditions (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:472-480), it is related to the the Buffalo Gap.

Quillworkers or members of the Lakota Double-Woman Society, previously discussed in reference to the mule or blacktail deer, also derived great prestige for their talents and accomplishments in quilling. These women held quilling displays and contests where they exhibited their creations and competed with each other on the skill, productivity, and artistic excellence of their work. They kept counts of their accomplishments on robes and on the dew cloth of the Red Council Lodge (Wissler 1910:92-94; Hassrick 1964:42-43, 272). According to Royal B. Hassrick (1964:191), "quilling was probably the highest attainment in the female arts" and a primary area of female artistic contribution as well.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Although porcupines appear throughout the storytelling traditions of the Lakotas, little has been written about their spiritual significance. The only information found on the Lakotas is the association of the porcupine with *Yanpa*, the East Wind (Walker 1983: 354, 404 n72), and its connection to the Sun (Brown 1992:102, Sundstrom, L. 2002:108). Like the tail feathers of an eagle, porcupine quills were identified with the Sun's rays (Brown 1992). Similarly, this animal is featured in many Cheyenne stories, but little about its spiritual significance is recorded in ethnographic sources (Grinnell 1926).

THE CASTOR FAMILY [*CASTORIDAE*]

Beaver [*Castor canadensis missouriensis*]

Habitat & History

Although native to the Black Hills, the beaver's presence declined considerably as a result of commercial fur-trapping in the area (Froiland 1978:143). Some of the first European and American trappers who arrived in the Black Hills at the turn-of-the nineteenth century came in search of this animal, and many stream names in the area, notably French Creek and Beaver Creek, are evidence of their presence. The relative abundance of this fur-bearing animal in the Black Hills, however, was a subject of some debate in the early nineteenth century. Tabeau (Abel 1939: 83-84), for one, was not very optimistic about the success of beaver trapping in the Hills when he wrote:

> The Ricaras, to whom mice are mountains, say, of course, that in all the little rivers and on the land, which separates them from the Black Hills, the beaver is plentiful; but it is evident that, when asked to enter into details, they regard as an immense number dwellings which they meet with, scattered here and there, and that if they knew and wished to hunt there they would destroy in a year all those that exist in a circle of two hundred leagues (in Abel 1939:84).

Around the same period of time, Lewis and Clark were told by a trader named Jon Vallé, who wintered and spent considerable time in the area, that while there were few beaver on the Cheyenne River, many were to be found in the Black Hills (Moulton 1983-87:3: 133). Whatever their supply, it is clear that a number of traders and their *engages* trapped in the Black Hills during the early half of the nineteenth century, and they did so along many of the waterways that flowed from the Hills. As late as the 1850s, these animals were trapped by European Americans on the streams of the Black Hills (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:28-29). Even after the 1870s, beavers were still described as abundant along many of the streams that fed the Missouri River from the west, and during the same period, they were noted in the Black Hills by the members of several exploratory expeditions (Grinnell 1875:77; De Girardin 1936:62; Progulske 1974:122; Turner 1974:88). Indeed, Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:146) wrote: "The streams that issue from the Black hills are favorite resorts of them, and I have often known them to strip the streams of all the timber which skirted their borders." At the dawn of the twentieth century, a new wave of European American commercial trappers led to the extreme decline of local beaver populations. Even local ranchers and their children trapped for extra cash in the early decades of the twentieth century (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70: 402, 419). In the 1930s, several streams in the region, including Cold Springs Creek at Wind Cave National Park, were restocked but with populations from outside locations (Turner 1974:88-89). By the 1950s, beaver had become so numerous that they were in danger of starvation, having denuded much of their riparian food base (Progulske 1974: 124).

Also under debate is the issue of how much trapping was conducted by the tribal nations who lived in the region. There is no question that the Cheyennes and Lakotas traded beaver and other peltries, many of which were probably acquired in the Black Hills, but it is also clear that this was largely a supplementary activity. In the late eighteenth century, Perrin du Lac described the Cheyennes as expert beaver hunters who traded their furs to the Lakotas. However, in the same time period, Truteau claimed that the Cheyenne did not take any furs (Grinnell 1972:1:297-298). The same was probably true for the Lakotas who ventured west of the Missouri, although their eastern Dakota-speaking relatives were active beaver trappers (Albers 2001:763-764). Whatever the case, most of the tribal populations in this part of the plains do not appear to have

developed a specialized trapping pattern characteristic of some of the Ojibwes who moved onto the Plains in regions farther north.

Tribal Taxonomy

The beaver is called *capa* or *cap'* in Lakota (Buechel 1970:127) and *homa?e* or *hom-a?ne* in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15:103; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:7).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

According to George Grinnell (1972:1:296), the Cheyenne did not make any serious effort to trap beaver until this animal became valued as a trade item after white contact. Typically, the Cheyennes used dogs to drive them out of their dams, after which they clubbed or shot them (Grinnell 1972: 1:296). Lakotas smoked the animals from their holes and then clubbed them to death (Hassrick 1964: 168). According to Standing Bear (1978: 34), they were a common prey for older boys.

The meat and fur of the beaver was highly prized by both tribes (Bordeaux 1929:126; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Grinnell 1972:1:296). As Standing Bear (1988:63) wrote: "The meat of the beaver is quite good, the tail being entirely of fat. When cooked, this tail tastes something like cheese, and we ate it with our lean meat like bread." The Cheyennes used beaver skins for clothing and ornamentation (Grinnell 1972:1:296). The Lakotas did so as well: for example, members of the White Badge Society carried a wand decorated with beaver fur (Walker 1980:262). Just like otterskins, beaver skins were worn as a wrapping on a Lakota man's braids (Curtis 1907-30:3:137). Curiously, Cheyenne women were prohibited from dressing or handling beaver skins, a rule that did not apply to otterskins (Grinnell 1972:2:104, 198). There appears to have been no prohibitions of this kind among the Lakotas for whom the handling of otterskins by menstruating women was taboo.

Standing Bear (1988:61-63) describes Lakota knowledge of the beaver in some detail:

> An animal that we observed a good deal was the beaver. We noticed that wherever there were beaver and turtles, there was plenty of water, and that if the beaver left a stream, it would not be long before the stream went dry. Little animals like this told us many things, so we watched them. The dams that the beaver builds are great things. they are built so perfectly that they do not wash away, as do the white man's dams, which sometimes go to pieces and do lots of damage. The beaver starts his dam by cutting good-sized timbers and placing them deep in the mud like piles. Then limbs of trees are laced in and out, showing that the beaver puts in an immense amount of work on a single dam. Cutting down large trees and dragging them to the water is a dangerous job, but never does a workman get killed at his labor. Whatever their system, it is a good one. Sometimes we discovered that a beaver colony had moved to another creek, but we never saw a beaver on land, nor did we ever catch a colony of these animals on the march moving their town site. That was something of a mystery to us; also the fact that as sure as the beaver moved, the stream that they left would go dry.
>
> We admired the beaver, for he is very industrious. Just the same he likes to play. They like to splash water over each other with their tails. Then they build slides of earth and mud, and carry water up on them with their tails until the slope is smooth and shiny. When the game is going big, even the old ones join the young ones, and everybody has a good time. I have seen many wild animals fight, but I have never seen one beaver battle with another one, so I take it that they are inclined to be peaceful. The beaver ponds were always beautiful spots, fresh and green, and we were sure to see many other kinds of animals lingering about that liked the water and the trees.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Beavers were considered sacred by the Lakotas (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101), and they were believed to be guardians "of work, provision, and of domestic faithfulness" (Tyon in Walker 1980:121). They were also identified as messengers of the Thunders (Beckwith, M. 1930:12n412) and probably the West Wind. James Walker (1980:277) also refers to the existence of a Beaver Society, which would suggest an association of people who dreamed of this animal, but other than this reference, virtually nothing has been written about it in the literature.

There is some parallel evidence among the Cheyennes that in earlier times beaver may have been a source of spiritual power and a focus for some kind of ceremonial association,since certain individuals were known to have made beaver drums and some were able to make people sick by shooting beaver cuttings into their bodies (Grinnell 1972:2: 145). Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes considered the beaver to be highly industrious and intelligent, and they admired its ability to construct dams and build houses to live in (Grinnell 1972:2:104).

THE SCURID FAMILY [*SCIURIDAE*]

In the Black Hills, the scurids include prairie dogs, yellow-bellied marmots, chipmunks, and a variety of squirrels. Of these animals, only the prairie dog and the squirrel appear to have carried much importance in the lives of the Lakotas and the Cheyennes.

Prairie Dog [*Cynomys ludovicianus ludovicianus*]

Habitat & History

In 1803, Tabeau (in Abel 1939:82-83) indicated that there were "swarms" of this animal in the region in the early nineteenth century especially on the upland prairies east of the Black Hills, and during the 1850s, Ferdinand V. Hayden (1862b: 145) wrote about a prairie dog town north of the Cheyenne River near the Black Hills that covered an area of more than fify square miles. This well-known inhabitant, and now popular tourist attraction, of the American West is found at many locations in the prairies, including at Wind Cave National Park. The earth thrown up by the prairie dogs around their towns favors the growth of certain forbs. The Lakotas recognized this fact and named one their more highly valued medicinal plants, the fetid marigold [*Dyssodia papposa*], as *pispiza ta'wote,* "prairie dog food" (Buechel 1972:444).

Tribal Taxonomy

The black-tailed prairie dog is called *pispiza* in Lakota, which is the same name given to the ground squirrel (Buechel 1970:444). In Cheyenne, the animal is known as *ononevoneske* [taking off with teeth disappearing] (Petter 1913-15:847; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:84).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, & Use

Prairie dogs were hunted by the Lakotas and typically shot with arrows (Hassrick 1964: 168), although White Bull told Stanley Vestal (1934:7) that he snared the animals with a noose. Cheyenne women also hunted prairie dogs and considered their flesh good meat (Moore, J. 1974a:164). Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9) relayed the following:

> I have caught lots of prairie dogs. they are wary and quick, so they are hard to catch. The best way is to hide beside a hole. If the hunter keeps very quiet and waits long enough the prairie dog finally will creep out from the hole. Then it may be grabbed and beaten to death.

William Bordeaux (1929:108, 113) indicates that the skins of prairie dogs were used

in the manufacture of medicine bags for keeping roots and herbs. Other than this application and their role as a supplementary food source, there is little information in the ethnographic literature about other practical uses for this animal.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

According to Standing Bear (1988:158-159):

> Prairie-dogs were known as 'little farmers,' for they cleared the ground about their dwelling places and soon after there began to grow a plant upon which they lived. Whether they had a system of planting or not we never found out, but it was noticable that wherever these little animals took up their abode their food plants soon took the place of weeds. Neither did we ever see a prairie-dog 'town' in the process of changing location though it was done quite often. If these animals traveled overland they left no trails, though within their 'towns' the trails were numerous, so it was supposed that they dug tunnels through which they traveled in a body. Yet at that we were mystified when they moved their towns from one side of a stream to the other. The deserted towns of the prairie-dog seemed to be refertilized, no doubt on account of the air and water that got into the soil, for they soon were covered with grass that afforded excellent feed for our stock. These grassy places we traveled with care, for when the prairie-dogs moved out, the rattlesnakes moved in.

Standing Bear (1978:215) also notes that the clean soil found around their towns was used to heal wounds. William Powers (1982:13) explains that soils brought up from underneath the earth by prairie dogs and other burrowing animals contain the purifying properties of the underworld, and, as a result, these soils are considered especially efficacious for healing and religious activity. He also notes in another publication that animals who burrow in the earth are held sacred because they transverse the space between subterranean environments and the earth's surface in a manner that mirrors the Lakotas' own story of emergence from the underworld (Powers, W. 1986:113, 162).

Because of their burrowing habits, prairie dogs were considered especially *wakan* by the Lakotas (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101). As one unidentified Lakota shaman put it, "Everything has a spirit. A prairie dog has a spirit. A prairie dog has two spirits: one the spirit like a tree and one the spirit like the breath of life, which is given by *Wakan-skanskan*" (Walker 1980:118). This power of movement, which the prairie dog shared with the deer and the grouse, prevented hunters from hitting them (Standing Bear 1988:57). Prairie dogs were closely associated with herbal medicine, and according to William Bordeaux (1929:108), the people who dreamed of this animal possessed secret medical knowledge on the use of certain plants.

The Cheyennes associated prairie dogs with corn because both emerge from under the earth on small mounds. Corn kernals and prairie dog teeth were equated because of their yellow color. This same coloration is also linked to bison calves (Anderson 1958; Moore, J. 1974a:164).

Yellow bellied marmot [*Marmota flaviventris dacota*]

While the marmot is found throughout the Black Hills in rocky habitats, it is rare in comparison to many other rodent species (Turner 1974:68). It also appears to have been rare in the region in earlier times (Hayden 1862b:146). Native names for this animal have not been uncovered in the literatures on the Cheyennes or Lakotas. A closely related species, the ground hog or woodchuck, is called *seavoneske* [into-disappearing] in Cheyenne (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976: 122). Although no Lakota name was found for this animal, it is probably the same as the one for woodchucks in the Dakota dialect, *hankasa* (Riggs 1968:123). Woodchucks

were commonly hunted by Dakota women in regions east of the Missouri River (Landes 1968:191), but there is no evidence for this practice among the Lakotas.

Squirrels [*Spermophilus tridecemlineatus pallidus, etc.*]

Habitat & History

Four species of squirrels are reported in the Black Hills, the thirteen-lined ground squirrel [*Spermophilus tridecemlineatus pallidus*], the fox squirrel [*Sciurus niger rufiventer*], the red squirrel, [*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus dakotensis*], and the northern flying squirrel [*Glaucomys sabrinus bangsi*]. Of these, the first two are the most common in the southern Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park (Turner 1974:71,76). The red squirrel and the grey flying squirrel may be seen on rare occasions in the south, but they frequent the northern reaches of the Hills (Turner 1974:77, 81). Hayden (1862b :144) reported that he had seen red squirrels in abundance in the eastern neighborhoods of the Black Hills especially among stands of oak trees.

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota, the stripped ground squirrel was called *tasnaheca* (Buechel 1970:483), the fox squirrel was known as *pispiza* (the same name given the prairie dog), (Buchel 1970 444), and the red squirrel was named *zica* or *zicahota* (Buechel 1970:658). The Cheyenne name for the squirrel is *no?kee?e*, *no?ee?e*, or *no?keeho* (Petter 1913-15: 1005; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:107).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, & Use

Like rabbits, squirrels were a popular prey in the hunting forays of young Lakota boys who killed them with bows and arrows (DeMallie 1984:158-159; Standing Bear 1988:15). They were a favorite food of older Lakota women who boiled the meat until it was so tender it did not have to be chewed and who also tanned their hides to make small robes to sit on (Hassrick 1964:168).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Although squirrels are mentioned in Lakota storytelling traditions (Walker 1983:271, 371), no special symbolic or spiritual significance appears to have been attached to them in the sources we reviewed on the Lakotas. The same holds true for the Cheyennes.

Least Chipmunk [*Eustamias minimus pallidus*]

The *pallidus* species is very common especially in the southern Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park, while the subspecies *silvaticus* is ubiquitous in the region (Turner 1974:63-64) and has been so since the 1870s (Progulske 1974:122). The Lakota call these chipmunks, *hetkala* (Buechel 1970:173), while the Cheyenne named them *neske?esta* or *nestse?esta* [perked ears] (Petter 1913-15:20). There are no reports in the literature on any use for them, nor are there any discussions of their spiritual significance. Among the Cheyennes, along with squirrels and mice, they are mentioned primarily in stories told to children (Grinnell 1972:1:149). Among the Lakotas, the same appears to be true. It is worthwhile mentionning, however, that they are one of the animals who stored their food in the cave in which *Tokahe* and his people sought shelter after coming to the earth's surface (Walker 1983:371).

THE GEOMYID FAMILY [*GEOMYIDAE*]

Pocket Gopher [*Thomomys talpides nebulosis*]

Habitat & History

The northern pocket gopher is widespread and common throughout the Black Hills especially in open pastures, meadows, and parklands (Turner 1974:83). It was also abundant in the region during the nineteenth century (Hayden 1862b:146-147). This animal has long been considered a pest to European American farmers and ranchers because of their burrowing habits, and over the past century, there have been many different systematic attempts to eradicate them (Turner 1974:83). The pocket gopher is also not looked upon very favorably by the Lakotas and Cheyennes, who consider it a dangerous animal and a source of power.

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota, this animal is called *itignila* (Buechel 1970:240) and *wahinheya* [probably refers to the notion (see below) that it shoots people with its whiskers or a hairlike grass] (Buechel 1970:517). The word, *wahin' heya*, was also applied to a species of milkweed the Lakota called *wahcahca hu bloka*, which they used as a treatment to cure swollen glands caused by gophers. *Wahin' heya opi* [literally gopher shot] is the name for scrofulous swellings (Buechel 1970:517). The Cheyennes call this gopher *heszema* (Petter 1913-15:519), and, like the Lakotas, they believe it causes scrofula, and as a result, they avoid camping in areas near gopher hills.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Pocket gophers are considered *wakan* and feared because they are believed to shoot people with the tip of a certain grass, causing scrofulous lesions to appear on the neck (Dorsey, J. 1894:496; Bordeaux 1929:113; Standing Bear 1978:62). As Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980: 169),

> Men, women, boys, girls, and babies all get scrofula, which they believe is caused by gophers. For you know, where those gophers are, the earth is entirely pulverized. This is why people think about gophers as they do and why they so believe. Holy men doctor them and extract gophers' whiskers from them Then they cure people. Some are not treated quickly so these develop scrofula of the throat, it is said. Hence no one goes near to where gophers burrow in the earth. They fear that perhaps the gopher will shoot them. Those who go to where gophers live hide their throats. They still believe in this custom.

Standing Bear (1988:62) also described the dangers of the gopher and noted:

> The little pockets at the side of the gopher's neck we called quivers, and in them the animal often carried pieces of dry grass an inch or so in length and sharply pointed at one end. These arrows the gopher shot at anyone coming near, and if the person chanced to be hit he was sure to become afflicted with *wahinheyao* which means 'wounded by the gopher.'

Possibly related to this belief, the pocket gopher was also associated with warfare. The pulverized dirt found around gopher holes was used as a war medicine. Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:135 n25, 337, 340) reported that the famous Lakota medicine man Chips gave some of this dirt to Crazy Horse for protection in battle, and he also told about his own vision of a gopher that transformed itself into a herb used in war that was able to "destroy a nation" (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:135, 137). Cheyenne horse doctors, who sometimes were called upon to assist in battle and in horse races, reputedly used magical dirt from a gopher's hole to cause an enemy or competitor's horse to trip and fall (Grinnell 1972:1:140). The Cheyennes believe that the loose soil around the gopher's hole is highly dangerous and capable of causing cancer and other diseases (Whiteman in Schwartz 1955:

55). The idea that the dirt around gopher hills is powerful is connected to a wider belief applied to other animals who burrow in the ground, discussed briefly in relation to prairie dogs.

MICE AND ASSOCIATES [*CRICETIDAE, HETEROMYIDAE,* AND *ZAPDIDAE*]

Habitat & History

A wide variety of the smallest rodent species are found in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park, but only a few of them have been differentiated in the faunal taxonomies of the Lakotas and Cheyennes -- a fact that may reflect their general insignificance symbolically and as a source of food.

The *Zapodidae* family includes the Jumping Mouse, *Zapus hudsonius campestris,* which is common in the Black Hills in rich riparian habitats, especially in their northern reaches, but apparently absent from much of the southern Hills. In general, they are more abundant along waterways that cut across the grasslands east of the Black Hills (Turner 1974:120).

The Cricetids are represented in the Hills by a wide range of different species, but only one of these, the muskrat [*Ondatra zibethicus cinnamoninus*], was taken regularly as a source of food by local tribes. Although more typically associated with prairie drainages east of the Black Hills, it does occur in small numbers along many local streams (Turner 1974:118). Several species of voles (sometimes popularly referred to as moles) are reported in the Hills and at Wind Cave National Park (Turner 1974:105-118). The Prairie vole, *Microtus ochrogaster haydenii*, is especially common in the park with its characteristic runways (Turner 1974:112), but the meadow vole, *Microtus pennsylvanicus insperatus*, is present too (Turner 1974: 114-116). Also in the Cricetid family are a number of species of mice that frequent the Black Hills, including the white-footed mouse [*Peromyscus leucopus aridulus*] and the one most common at Wind Cave, the deer mouse [*Peromyscus maniculatus nebrascensis*] (Turner 1974:94-102). Finally, the bushy-tailed wood rat [*Neotoma cinerea orolestes*] is a Cricetid species located in the Black Hills especially in their northern reaches (Turner 1974:103).

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota and Cheyenne nomenclatures, there appears to be no distinctions between these families and the *Muridae* whose species were introduced to the Hills from Europe. The Jumping mouse is called by the same Lakota name as the grasshopper, *psipsicala* [jumping] or *hitunpsicala* (jumping mouse) (Buechel 1970:446). The muskrat was known as *sinkpe* in Lakota and *seavonsceo* in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15:729). The Cheyennes named the vole *estsema?e* [Petter 1915:69), while Lakotas called it *hitunkala sapa* [black mouse] or *pangi gnakapi* [falls off artichokes] (Buchel 1970:178). In the Dakota dialect, voles were known as *napeheyatahedan* [little hands, far back] (Williamson 1970:109). In Cheyenne, voles are given the same name as gophers, *eszemae* (Petter 1913-15:715). All varieties of mice were given the generic name *hitunkala* by the Lakotas (Buechel 1970: 178) and *hohkeehe* or *hotseehe* by the Cheyennes (Petter 1913-15:723; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:70). The Lakotas call rats *hitunktanka* or *itungtanka* (Buechel 1978:178), and the Cheyenne know them as *no?ketse* (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:89).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, & Use

Muskrat were widely hunted by the Lakotas (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964: 168). The skins of the species were fastened to the lances of the *Sotka Tanka* (Wissler 1912:61). Little else is written about the animal or its uses among the Lakotas,

however, and nothing appears in the sources surveyed on the Cheyennes. Other related families of cretids and rodents do not appear to have been taken by either tribe as source of food. Meadow voles, however, are known for their habit of caching large quantities of wild beans in their dens. Cheyenne and Lakota women often looked for these dens to get their own supplies, and they were careful to leave a gift in return so as not to offend the voles (Gilmore 1919:96; Ewers 1961:11; Hassrick 1964:179; Grinnell 1972: 1:254; Standing Bear 1978:57). Indeed, there is a well-known story among the Lakotas, often told to children, about a woman who failed to gift these voles (Gilmore 1925:183-184). Only one manufacturing use has been reported, in which mice ribs were reported being taken to make fishing hooks (Bordeaux 1929:130).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Like prairie dogs and gophers, the earth around the burrows of voles and mice was revered because, as William Powers (1986: 160) puts it, "the dirt brought to the surface of the earth by moles is regarded as sacred when used in curing ceremonies because it is untainted by humans and those who tread the earth's surface." Among the Lakotas, mice were located in the class of diggers and traveled together with the gophers, prairie dogs, and badgers to the great gathering of animals as told in one segment of their genesis story (Walker 1983:269-272, 358-362). Along with gophers, they were believed to eat away at the moon each month (Walker 1980:126). According to Royal B. Hassrick (1964:276), children were cured of bedwetting by threatening to feed them mice (Hassrick 1964:276). Mice could also be a source of spiritual assistance as told in a story of Julia Brave Eagle, who prayed to and received aid from the *Ithunkala Oyate*, the Mice Nation (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:117-118). No cultural information was uncovered on mice in the literature that was reviewed on the Cheyennes. Although some of the smallest rodents appear as background figures in Lakota and Cheyenne stories, many of the ones in which they appear are directed at children (Gilmore 1925:183-184; Hassrick 1964:139-140; Grinnell 1972:1: 149; Deloria 1932:18-20).

Bats [*Chiroptera*]

There are ten different species of bats in the Black Hills from the family *Vesperitilionidae*, and many of these are located at Wind Cave National Park. As Turner (1974: 43) writes, the region holds many favorable locations for bats to retreat including ledges and caves. Notwithstanding the existence of numerous species, only one tribal name was found for them, and that is the Lakota word, *hupa'kiglake* (Buechel 1970:196). This word could mean, "wing" [hupa] 'that stands apart" [glake], but it could also refer to their behavior of returning to a roosting site as in the Lakota word that means "return home" (*kiglake).* Buechel (1970:196) suggests that the name refers to the part of a bird that is used as a *wotawe* or protective amulet. The bat was certainly linked in Lakota taxonomy with other animals who fly and not with mammals and other four-legged creatures. In particular, it was viewed as a "helper" of the West Wind and the Thunders (Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:111). Like other birds who are linked to these two spiritual forces, bats were associated with war and the warriors, who commonly wore them as *wotawe* when they entered battle. In Cheyenne, the bat was called *mosiskaneenona* [the brown leather winged] (Petter 1913-15:93). George Grinnell (1972:1:120) reports that Cheyenne warriors sometimes tied the skins of bats in their hair when going to war to avoid detection and to ensure their safe travel at night. In battle, when an enemy shot at a warrior wearing a bat, he was not supposed to be shooting at the warrior in actuality but rather at the spiritual presence embodied in the amulet of the bat.

Insectivores (*Insectivora*)

The insectivore order is represented by the shrew family, *Soricidae.* Although shrews are found at Wind Cave National Park, throughout the Black Hills and the neighboring grasslands, they had little if any significance to the Lakotas and Cheyennes. There are no references to them in any of the sources studied for this report other than the name *wakiges'a* found in the closely related Dakota dialect of the Sioux language (Williamson 1970: 204).

II. Birds

More than two hundred species of birds have been identified in the Black Hills, and of these, 139 are reported as common in the region, appearing as permanent year-round residents or regular seasonal inhabitants (Froiland 1978:107). Eighty-seven species are listed as occasional in the reportings of experienced observers. Although the vast majority are western species, eastern and northern varieties are found here as well. As with plants, this is an area of hybridization for a number of species from different parts of the continent. The Hills are the western and eastern limits for a number of birds and also outlier zones for some boreal species that nest in the region (Ibid:106-107).

Many of the birds identified with the Hills have been sighted at Wind Cave National Park, but most of them are uncommon or rare in their appearance. Only forty-one species, or approximately twenty percent of the total number, are commonly sighted in the park (Pisarowicz 2001b). Here, again, unless otherwise indicated, all future references to bird populations in the park are based on information drawn from the park's own website.

More than half of the birds found in the park are reported to have names in Lakota and Cheyenne ornithological nomenclatures, and nearly ninety percent of the common birds are so recorded. Some of the others may be represented by tribal names that have not been linked in a definitive way with any species identified in scientific nomenclatures. Many more may not carry any name at all. In reference to the Cheyennes, John Moore (1986) writes that several species of small birds went unnamed because they carried no functional use or symbolic meaning.

BIRDS OF PREY

Raptors [*Falconiformes*]

EAGLES AND HAWKS [*ACCIPITRIDAE*]

Golden Eagle [*Aquila chrysaetos*]

Bald Eagle [*Haliacetus leucocephalus*]

Of the raptors, the eagle was clearly the most significant bird to the Lakotas. It ranked as the "chief" of the "wingeds" because it "flies higher than all other birds'" and "moves through the skies in the sacred form of a circle" (Black Elk quoted in Brown 1992:42). According to Luther Standing Bear (1988:78), eagles symbolized "the greatest power." Eagles ranked high among the birds in Cheyenne traditions too (Moore, J. 1986:182).

Habitat and History

Of the two species of eagles, the golden eagle is the most prevalent in the Black Hills. It is widespread throughout the region, occuring most frequently in the neighborhood of Wind Cave National Park and Custer State Park near rocky cliffs and over open prairies. It remains in the Hills over the entire year. In the summer, it is found most often at high elevations, but in fall and winter, it seeks lower elevations to feed on

rabbits, prairie dogs, and gophers (Froiland 1978:109-110, 121; Melius 1995:31). Bald Eagles, on the other hand, are uncommon in the Hills. They stay in the Black Hills over the winter months near open waters where they are drawn to the fish and local waterfowl. They are especially prevalent in the bottoms of local river valleys with cottonwood groves (Froiland 1978:134; Melius 1995:31).

Tribal Taxonomy

The Lakotas call the golden eagle *wanbli gleska* and the bald eagle *anukasan* (Buechel 1970:82, 540), while the Cheyennes refer to them respectively as *meheonevecess* and *to?too?he* (*netse* was their generic name) (Petters 1915:35; Moore, J. 1986:182). As with bison, the Lakotas have many different names for eagles that not only separate them by species but also by their age and coloring, such as *huya* [mature golden eagle] and *anukiyan* [immature golden eagle or cross-breed] (Buechel 1970:82, 196; Powers, W.1986:148-149;St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:111). The Cheyennes have a complex naming system for eagles as well (Moore, J. 1986:183-185; Petter 1913-15:420). The golden eagle is referred to by seven different names: *moeoniz* [war eagle] indicates the juvenile stage and *enskiniz* [striped eagle] designates the immature phase, while *niz* [ordinary eagle], *heoveniz* [yellow eagle], *totoniz* [spotted eagle], and *maeniz* [red eagle] describe varieties of golden eagles in their mature stage (Moore, J. 1986:183). Another name, *Ma'heonevecess* [bird father], is also applied to the golden eagle.

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Of all the species of birds found in the area, eagles are the ones most consistently associated with the Black Hills in tribal cultural traditions. Historically, this area was a prime location to trap eagles. The Mandans and Hidatsas considered the Hills one of their favorite spots for eagle trapping (Bowers 1963:209-210). John Stands in Timber (and Liberty1967:51-52) and Father Peter Powell (1969:415,427) reported that areas near Bear Butte were favored by the Cheyennes for this purpose, while Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964:171-172) mentions the Hills as a general location for Lakota eagle trapping but does not cite specific sites for the activity. Two locations are referenced in the literature: the Coloff Winter Count (Powers 1963) describes the region of Bald Mountain as a place for eagle trapping, and Samuel Hinman (1875:93) noted the presence of numerous "pits" beyond the White River on the southeastern edge of the Hills.

No matter where Cheyenne eagle trapping took place, it was considered a sacred endeavor that was based on the teachings of their culture hero, Sweet Medicine (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:38). Among the Cheyennes, only certain spiritually gifted people were allowed to catch eagles (Grinnell 1972:1:299). Eagle trapping was typically practiced in the spring when the eagles first appeared and then in the fall when the eagles began to head south. Older men, who no longer went to war, were the ones who trapped eagles. These men were required to keep themselves ritually pure prior to trapping: they had to remain out of contact with other people, sleep alone, touch no one, and purify themselves in sweat lodges before pursuing an eagle (Ibid:1:299-300). Traditionally, an eagle catcher dug a pit large enough to sit down in and covered it with sticks and grass. He baited his trap with a wolf skin and a bit of rabbit, antelope, or deer meat (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1969:51-52; Grinnell 1972:1:301). Before sunrise, he entered the pit and awaited the arrival of an eagle. When the bird landed, he grabbed its feet and strangled it (Grinnell 1972:1:302). After the eagles were taken, the trapper conducted further acts of propitiation (Ibid:1:302-303). According to Grinnell (Ibid:1:300), eagles were the only birds which had a ceremony attached to their hunting. The Cheyenne also took eagle feathers from nests and from fledglings that they captured and raised in captivity (Ibid: 2:107). In later years, the Cheyenne built

blinds beneath trees where eagles typically roosted and killed them with guns (Ibid:1: 306). Similar ritual preparations surrounded eagle trapping among the Lakotas as described by Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964: 171-172), William Bordeaux (1929:199-200), and Luther Standing Bear (1988:79-84).

Eagle feathers are associated with a complex language that symbolizes the valorous accomplishments of their wearers especially in warfare (Brown 1992:43). Luther Standing Bear (1975:85-88; 1988: 84-88), James Walker (1980:232, 263, 270-272, 273, 274, 275-276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 1982:103-105), and Royal B. Hassrick (1964:90) describe in some detail how, historically, the number of eagle feathers and their positioning on the head marked different kinds of honors among the Lakotas. Eagle feathers stood for the killing of an enemy in battle, and therefore, they were worn primarily by men who achieved distinction in battle (Curtis 1907-30:3:23, 30; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 389-390). Only men with an exceptional record of war deeds were allowed to wear a warbonnet made with these feathers (Walker 1982:103). Luther Standing Bear (1988:89), however, claimed that anyone who was brave enough to capture eagles could make a headdress and wear it. Lakota Sun Dancers also wore eagle feathers and plumes (Walker 1982: 98).

Among the Lakotas, only certain women are permitted to carry or wear eagle feathers. These include women whose kinsmen died in war. In fact, there was once a special society of Lakota women whose male relatives were lost in battle. In addition to the plume of an eagle, which these women wore upright at the back of their head as a badge of their membership in the society, they also wore the feathers their deceased kinsmen were entitled to wear (Walker 1982:63,106). Women for whom a *Pte San Lowanpi* ceremony was conducted were also allowed to wear eagle plumes in their hair (Standing Bear 1988: 88).

The Lakotas use eagle feathers and plumes for a wide variety of other purposes as well. Eagle feathers are attached to war shields, pipes, lances, and staffs (Wissler 1912:15, 67-72; Blish 1934:183; Walker 1982:95; Standing Bear 1988:87-88). The wing feathers of eagles are still used in fans to whip the flames of ritual fires and to smudge sage, cedar, and other incenses during ceremonies (Bordeaux 1929:157; Standing Bear 1988: 90; Brown 1992:43). Historically, the small feathers were used in making arrows (Densmore 1918:438-439), an application also practiced by the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972: 1:306). Today, as in the past, eagle plumes are attached to ceremonial equipment used in the *Wiyanyan wacipi*, the *Hunka*, and the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Curtis 1907-30:3:74, 75, 78, 81, 82, 87, 94, 95; Densmore 1918:71, 72, 104, 125-126; Sword in Deloria 1929: 398; Walker 1980:187, 190, 191, 202, 213, 217-218, 230-231, 234, 244, 245, 251-252). In making buffalo medicine, an eagle feather is symbolically equated with the bison (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:240-241). In the past, eagle feathers were also tied to the hoops carried by elk dreamers in their performances (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 242-243), and they were attached to Lakota horses to enhance their speed (Bordeaux 1929:113). The body of an outstretched eagle was placed on top of a bear skin when bear medicines were made (Ibid:179). Finally, eagle down was placed opposite the entrance of a tipi before a child was born and also when a boy reached manhood (Dorsey, J.1894:482). The down was used in other sacred contexts too (Bordeaux 1929:179).

The Cheyennes also place a high value on eagle feathers; the most prized feathers are those of the golden eagle (Grinnell 1972: 2:107). Historically, they traded them to other tribes (Ibid:1:299). The straight quills from the tail were especially valued in adornment and commonly worn by older men who tied them to their hair at the base of the scalp lock (Ibid:1:222, 299). In the past, according to John Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:52-53), eagle feathers

were the insignia of the chiefs, and they were worn only by leaders and noted warriors. By the mid-twentieth century, however, everyone, even women, took to wearing them for dances and parades. Warbonnets were gifted at marriage (Grinnell 1972:1:138, 2:27), consecrated and carried (or worn) into battle (Ibid:2:10, 121), and displayed at the funeral rites of a warrior (Ibid:2:161). The Cheyennes still use eagle feathers and plumes in a wide variety of different contexts during their Sun Dance (Ibid:2:215, 232, 233, 234, 243-244, 262, 263, 265, 267, 268). In preparing the plumes for the Sun Dancers' whistles, coups are counted over them (Ibid:2:232-233). When embellishing the pins that surround the altar, they are said to stand as a symbol of the thunderbird (Ibid:2:263). Each Sun Dancer also wears a yellow painted eagle feather, which stands for the breath of life (Powell 1969: 2:796, 806, 833, 834, 844).

Eagle claws and bones are used for a wide range of purposes too. The wing bones of eagles are still made into whistles for the Lakota Sun Dance and other ceremonies, for warfare, and for healing (Curtis 1907-30:3:54, 91, 95, 97; Dorsey, G. 1905:124; Walker 1982:95, 98; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:237; Schlesier 1987:60; Standing Bear 1988:172; Brown 1992:42). Among the Lakotas, these whistles are said to symbolize the power of the thunders (Densmore 1918: 161; Blish 1934:185; Brown 1992:42). Historically, the wing bones were reportedly made into awls for sewing the buffalo hides that went into the construction of a Lakota tipi (Standing Bear 1975:21). Eagle claws were used by the Lakotas in medical treatments, and in one application, flakes were scratched from their surface and mixed in a decoction as a remedy for scrofulous sores (Densmore 1918:253). And finally, among the Cheyennes, eagle fat was used in making certain paints for the Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972: 2:262).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Eagles are considered highly sacred or *wakan* among the Lakotas (Sword in Walker 1980:102). In some texts, the golden eagle is described as the "epitome of the powers of the north" (Buechel 1970:540) and the messenger of its wind, *Waziyata* (Curtis 1907-30:3:77), but in others, this bird is described as an *akicita* or soldier of the West Wind and the *Wakinyan* or Thunders (Sword in Walker 1980:103). Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980:122) that eagles presided over councils, hunters, war parties, and battles. The eagle was also represented as the *akitcita* of the sun, and the sun's *tonwan* (essence) is carried in the eagle's tail quills (Walker 1980:230-231, 232; Brown 1992: 43). According to Francis Densmore (1918:111-112), the eagle was mentioned in the prayers of the Sun Dance leader before the center tree was felled because it is the "boldest of birds." In the *Hunka* ceremony, the officiate equates the eagle with the buffalo and tells how it stands for virtue and integrity (Walker 1980:234). Similarly, in the puberty ceremony for a young girl, the use of an eagle plume symbolizes "constancy and virtue" (Walker 1980:217-218). Mark St. Pierre and Tilda Long Soldier (1995:111) write that eagles serve as important spiritual messengers because "they can fly into the pure, rarefied air where the sacred can communicate with them away from the contaminating influences of earth." Their feathers and plumes represent "the breath of the living being" (Brown 1992:43) and highly potent guardians and protectors against danger as revealed in many episodes of the Falling Star story cycle told by Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:397-398, 400, 407, 408-409).

The Cheyennes also believe that eagles possess great power and that they are the "strongest bird that flies" (Grinnell 1972:2: 107-108). Father Peter Powell (2002a:69) claims that the golden eagle is the holiest of the Northern Cheyennes' birds. One group of dancers in the Northern Cheyennes' Sun Dance represents the bald eagle, and they

are painted with designs signifying lightning (Powell 1969:1:79). Eagles are generally associated with the second highest level of the Southern Cheyenne cosmos, the *Seto-voom*, the near sky space (Moore, J. 1984: 298), but there are some indications that they may have been included among the birds of the highest blue sky space too, the *Otatavoom* (Moore, J. 1986:182; Schlesier 1987:8).

The Cheyennes strongly associate eagles with protective powers relating to war (Grinnell 1972:2:108; Moore, J. 1986a:184-186). Only some individuals were able to make eagle medicine for protective purposes, however (Grinnell 1972:1:299). John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1969:52) wrote**:** "They say an eagle can take in nearly the whole world with his eyes, and see it as clearly as a man looks at the ground by his feet." This might have been why only leaders and warriors among the Cheyennes were able to don their feathers (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1969:52).

Encounters with eagles are the subject of many Lakota visionary stories, and some of these take place in the Black Hills (Hassrick 1964:232-233; Bordeaux in Kadlececk and Kadlececk 1981:90-91; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:115, 117-118, 121, 136, 140-142, 216, 218, 228-229, 261, 263, 265; Black Elk, W. and Lyon 1990:120-137; Lewis, T. 1990:93-94; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:30-31, 142-143, 147). Eagles also appeared in many of Nicholas Black Elk's visions (in DeMallie 1984). Among the Lakotas, some eagle dreamers became healers, practicing a special ritual that was similar in many respects to a *Yuwipi* ceremony (Bordeaux 1929:109; Lewis, T. 1990: 93-104). Eagles were among the birds that helped Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:235) find his special medicinal herb and practice healing. They are also among the spiritual figures appealed to in healing songs, including those sung at *Yuwipi* ceremonies (Densmore 1918:193-194; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:156).

Hawks
[*Buteo, Accipter*, spp.]

Habitat and History

Besides eagles, many other raptor species are resident in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park. Some of these species are rare or uncommon migrants, including the osprey [*Pandion halisetu*s] and the marsh hawk a.k.a. Northern Harrier [*Circus cyaneus*], the rough-legged hawk [*Buteo lagopus*], and the ferruginous hawk [*Buteo regalis*] (Froiland 1978:132, 133, 134; Melius 1995:33, 35). Others are permanent residents but not often sighted: these include northern goshawks [*Accipter gentilis*], and Cooper's hawks (also known as chicken hawks) [*Accipter cooperi*i] (Froiland 1978: 121, 125; Melius 1995:33). The red-tailed hawk [*Buteo jamaicensis*], the most frequently sighted hawk in the Hills, is a common summer resident of Wind Cave National Park.

Tribal Taxonomy

There are many different names for hawks in the Cheyenne language. John Moore (1986:185-186) claims that this diversity speaks to their importance in Cheyenne naming practices, and it also reflects the sexual diamorphism and changing color phases of these birds of prey. The Cheyennes include most hawks within their class of "great" birds, which is associated with predatory behavior, war, and certain kinds of healing (Moore, J. 1986:184). Some Cheyenne names for hawks include *moehenoxe* for the northern harrier, *hoestom* for red-tailed and ferruginous hawks, and *tota-menaeno* for northern goshawks (Moore, J. 1986:183).

In Lakota, there are two generic names for hawks *cetan* and *canska. Cetan* is specifically applied to the chicken hawk or Cooper's hawk, while c*etan gleglega* [spotted hawk] refers to the sharp-shinned hawk. *Cetan sala* [red like hawk] designates the

red-shouldered hawk (Buechel 1970:130, 531). Also included in the *cetan* taxon are two non-hawk species, the shrike, *cetan watapela*, and the evening grosbeak, *cetan watapela zi* (Buechel 1970:130). In the Lakota taxon *canska*, the rough-legged hawk, is the representative bird of the class. Other species included in this group are the red-tailed hawk, known as *canska'unpigi,* and the ospry, *canska hoyazela* [fish eater hawk]. There are three other species in this taxon: *canska gi* [brown or grey hawk], *canska sapila* [little black hawk], and *canska'wanblila* [little eagle hawk], which have not been matched with species names in scientific taxonomies (Ibid: 123). Finally, the northern harrier is called *ptegopeca* (Buechel 1970: 448).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

The ethnographic literature is largely silent when it comes to revealing how hawks were captured by the Lakotas and the Cheyennes. It does, however, describe the uses to which hawk feathers were put.

While the Lakotas used hawk feathers in their hunting arrows (Densmore 1918:438-439; Standing Bear 1988:19; Brown 1992: 18), the Cheyennes put them on their ceremonial arrows. They were not attached to hunting and war arrows because the Cheyennes believed they were easily damaged by blood (Grinnell 1972:1:181). Hawk feathers decorated the lances of the Lakota Brave Hearts (Wissler 1912:72), and they adorned the war regalia and paraphernalia of other military societies too.

Among the Lakotas, hawk feathers were symbolically important in many ceremonial contexts. The wearing of hawk feathers, however, was restricted to persons with spiritual powers and entitled to conduct sacred performances (Walker 1980:223). The *walowan*, the one who sings over the initiates, in the *Hunka* ceremony wore a buffalo horn headdress adorned with hawk feathers and weasel skins, and the *wicasa wakan* who conducted the *Pte San Lowanpi* (The White Buffalo Calf Ceremony) wore a skin cap of hawk feathers and weasel skins (Walker 1980:246).

The Cheyennes adorned the lances they used to count coup with hawk feathers, and they hung them from the bows of the Contraries (Grinnell 1972:1:187,2:82,105). Hawk claws were used in war charms to inspire daring and courage (Ibid:2:124). Cheyenne healers fan their patients with hawk wings to cool them when they are treated, and they attach their feathers to the sage-wreath worn by the swifthawk dancer in the Sun Dance (Powell 1969:2:843). Hawk down is tied to the ceremonial request sticks used in the Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:131, 251).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The Lakota believe that hawks bring luck, and that they rule over endurance and swiftness (Dorsey, J. 1984:500; Black Elk in Niehardt 1959:133-134; Tyon in Walker 1980: 122). They are considered the helpers, *tonweyapi,* of *Wiyohpeyata* or *Yata* (the West Wind), who dwells with the thunders on Harney Peak (Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125; 1983:82). Although all hawks are respected because they are considered among the surest birds of prey (Densmore 1918:139), the northern groshawk was considered especially sacred (Sword in Walker 1980:102). As Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:317) remarked: "The life of an Indian is just like the wings of the air. That is why you notice the hawk knows how to get its prey. The Indian is like that. The hawk swoops down on its prey, so does the Indian." At the Sun Dance, tobacco is placed in the pipe as an offering to the hawk "who makes life difficult for other winged peoples" (Black Elk in Brown 1971:78). Standing Bear (1988:89) also observed that hawks were "cruel" and feared by other birds. Hawks were among the birds associated with storms and thunder in the ceremonies of the Sacred Bow Society (Blish 1934:186).

Hawks are also prevalent figures in Lakota visions (Hassrick 1964:234; DeMallie 1984:228-229) that confer war power. They have important connections to Lakota healers and healing (Dorsey, J. 1894: 495; Bordeaux 1929:109), and they appear in many sacred Lakota stories including those about Falling Star, Stone Boy, and the Four Winds (DeMallie 1984:397, 400, 405, 409; Walker 1983:53, 82, 96, 378-379).

Among the Cheyennes, hawks are also associated with war powers (Grinnell 1972:2: 105). Cheyenne warriors, who received war powers from hawks, sometimes tied a hawk skin to their hair in battle, and Contrary warriors made their dance whistles from the wing bones of a hawk (Stands in Timber 1967:90; Grinnell 1972:2:120; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:44). The Lakota war leader Crazy Horse was reported to have done this (Standing Bear 1988:88-89).

FALCONS [*FALCONIDAE*]

Of the species in the falcon family, prairie falcons [*Falco mexicanus*], also known as swifthawks, are permanent residents in the Black Hills but not often sighted. The most frequently sighted member of the falcon family, the American Kestral or sparrow hawk [*Falco sparverius*], is a common summer resident of the Hills and Wind Cave National Park (Froiland 1978:109, 125; Melius 1995:35).

In Cheyenne, *siskeeno* is the generic name for falcons, while *aenohes* is the ascription for the American kestral or sparrow hawk (Moore, J. 1986:183). In the Lakota language, falcons are merged taxonomically with hawks: the American kestral is called *cetan tanka* (Buechel 1970:130). The names for other falcon species have not been identified by name in the sources we studied, even though the Lakotas often associated the prairie falcon with courage in battle (Hassrick 1964:200). Historically, among the Cheyennes, sparrow hawks, were linked with the thunders, bestowed powers of swiftness and agility, while other falcons confered powers that kept warriors from being hit in battle (Grinnell 1972:2:108; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:44). The stuffed skins of prairie falcons were often worn by Cheyenne Contrary warriors, and their feathers adorned the lances of these warriors (Powell 2002a:69). The prairie falcon is one of the birds that plays an important role in the Great Race of the animals that took place on the Race Track, which crosses sections of Wind Cave National Park. It is also one of the birds represented symbolically in the Cheyennes' Sun Dance (Powell 1969:I:79).

VULTURES [*CARTHARTIDAE*]

Habitat and History

The turkey vulture [*Carthartes aura*] is a common sight in the Black Hills, appearing over the entire area from early spring through mid-autumn. It ranges most commonly in open areas at low elevations and nests on steep rocky slopes and cliffs (Froiland 1978:108; Melius 1995:31). It is not a frequent summer visitor to the area around Wind Cave National Park, however.

Tribal Taxonomy

The Lakotas call the vulture *heca* [no translation given] (Buechel 1970:169), while the Cheyenne know it as *moxtavovetas* [black whirlwind] or *oo?he* [bare of feathers] (Moore, J. 1986:189).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Vulture feathers were once considered the best for fletching arrows because blood does not diminish their effectiveness (Densmore 1918:438-439; Grinnell 1972: 1:181; Brown 1992:18). Buzzard feathers, hung vertically, were worn by Lakota men as a sign for counting the fourth coup in battle (Hassrick 1964:90).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The Lakotas believe the arrival of vultures means the end of winter. According to Lame Deer (Fire and Erdoes 1972:167), these birds can forecast the weather. Although the vulture is present in one of the stories from the Falling Star cycle and in an *Inktomi* tale (Beckwith, M. 1930: 431; DeMallie 1984: 397), it is not an especially significant figure in Lakota cosmology.

This stands in contrast to the Cheyennes who consider it a member of their most "holy" class of birds. Along with dragonflies and nighthawks, it moves in the fashion of a whirlwind, as evidenced by the funnel-shaped configurations it makes over cliff faces when it seeks thermals or circles carrion (Moore, J. 1986:189). The vulture is connected with death, twilight, and the west (Moore, J. 1986:182). Vultures are acknowledged symbolically in the Sun Dance as one of the "holy" birds. In the context of healing personal illnesses, however, they are identified with the class of "great birds" whose feathers are used to make fans for curing the sick (Moore, J. 1986:189). One incident where a vulture brought a person back to life was related by Grinnell (1972:2:153). Cheyennes once considered it a great honor to have eagles and vultures devour the corpses of their warriors left on the prairies (Grinnell 1972:2:163).

Owls [*Strigiformes*]

Habitat and History

Although not typically identified as birds of prey, owls are predatory animals. Six different species of owls are reported as rarely seen residents of Wind Cave National Park, and all, except one, are present at the park year round.

Tribal Taxonomy

The generic name for owl in the Lakota langauge is *hinhan* (Buechel 1970:176), but there are many species specific names that are listed below. In Cheyenne culture, owls are called *mestaa?e* (Petters 1913-15:77). They are not considered natural birds. Instead, they are believed to be *mista* or night spooks, and in some cases, the ghosts of known persons (Moore, J. 1986:186). According to George Bird Grinnell (1972: 2:100), Cheyennes who hear an owl hoot are sometimes able to tell whose ghost is speaking.

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

We found no information in the ethnographic literature on how owls were taken for their feathers. Owl feathers were important to both the Lakotas and Cheyennes, and they were used mostly in ceremonial contexts associated with healing and war.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The Lakota consider owls to be the helpers and messengers of the *unktehi*, water spirits, but they are also believed to be the aids of *Wiyhiyanpa*, the East Wind, because, like this wind, they are lazy and prefer to sleep during the day. The white owl, however, is the assistant of the north wind, *Waziya* (Beckwith, M. 1930:412n2; Walker 1980: 118, Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125, 1983: 340, 344-345). The owl's hoot forewarns of death and discontent, and as a result, it is sometimes feared (Red Rabbit 1980: 125; Walker 1983:340, 344; Brown 1992: 44). Owls are much respected by the Lakotas for their wisdom, courage, and gentleness, all of which are considered important character traits of a *wicasa wakan* or medicine man (Standing Bear 1988:72). Healers usually receive their powers from the owl in visions and use them in doctoring and conducting *Yuwipi* ceremonies (Brown 1992:44, 61; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:30, 31, 109,

111, 134-135, 139, 142, 143, 187). One Lakota told Frances Densmore (1992, 181):

> The owl moves at night when men are asleep. The medicine-man gets his power through dreams at night and believes that his dream is clear, like the owl's sight. So he promises that he will never harm an owl. If he did so, his power would leave him. For this reason some medicine-men wear owl feathers. The medicine-man also regards the owl as having very soft, gentle ways, and when he begins to treat the sick persons he is supposed to treat them very gently. So in night wisdom and in the manner of carrying itself the owl is greatly respected by the medicine men of the tribe.

Two healing songs with owl motifs were also recorded by Francis Densmore (1918: 180, 186-187), including ones that Brave Buffalo and Siyaka received in visions. Among the Cheyennes, the owl was also considered an important medicine helper, and a number of stories mention their healing powers and their connections to lightning (Grinnell 1972:1:125; 2:109, 156).

In Lakota culture, owls were also associated with war. The Owl Society, *Miwitani* (also called the *Hinhanshun Wapaha* [Owl-feather Headdress], was a warrior association that did not perform as other *akicita* societies (Curtis 1907-30:3:139; Wissler 1912:41-42); its members were known to have keen eyesight like the owl and risked their lives to gather information on the whereabouts of the enemy, often traveling at night to obtain it (Walker 1980: 273; Standing Bear 1988:72). The leader of the *Miwitani* wore a cap of owl feathers and a scarf called *Wanzi icaske*, which was draped around his neck and hung down the back (Dorsey, J. 1894:463; Standing Bear 1988: 72). The members of this society also wore hats with owl feathers, they tied owl feathers to their whistles, and they wore an owl leg or foot on their robes for every wife they abandoned (Wissler 1912:47). Thunder Bear told James Walker (1980:273) about the war insignia of the members of this society, including the practice of painting dark rings around the eyes to indicate a willingness to perform deeds in the night. Other Lakota warrior societies used owl feathers too. The *Wic'-iska* (White Marked Society) whip bearers wore bunches of split owl feathers on their heads (Wissler 1912: 35), and the *Iku sapa* [Black Chins] made headdresses that contained owl feathers (Wissler 1912: 28). The lances of the *Blotanka*, the *Sotka Tanka* and the *Cante Tinza* were decorated with owl feathers as well (Wissler 1912:58, 61, 72).

The Cheyennes also linked owls with warfare (Grinnell 1972:2:105). Contrary Warriors carried bows to which owl feathers were attached, and they wore stuffed screech owls on top of their head. Their leaders wore caps with owl feathers (Dorsey, G. 1905:25; Grinnell 1972:2:89). When owl feathers were tied to a shield or worn on the head and arms, the owner received the owl's power to see and move silently in the dark undetected (Grinnell 1972:1:188, 2:109).

The Lakotas and Cheyennes had more specific ideas about particular species of owls. The grey screech owl [*Otus asio*], known alternatively as *osniko, popotka*, or *ungnagiacala* in Lakota (Buechel 1970l:445, 606) and *megascop* in Cheyenne (Grinnell 1972: 2:100), was able to foretell the coming of cold weather. As James Dorsey (1894: 500) wrote of the Lakotas: "When the night is very cold this owl cries out, so the Teton say, just as if a person's teeth chattered. When its cry is heard, all the people wrap themselves in their thickest robes and put plenty of wood on the fires." Lakota women imitate this owl in a certain dance, called the *popotka*, where they *pagla hotonpi* or wail "lililililili." (Buechel 1970: 445).

The Northern saw-whet owl [*Aegolis acadicus*], the smallest of the owls in the Black Hills, is called *pagla or cehupa glagla* in Lakota, but it also goes by the names *ungnagicala* and *popotka*, a name used for the grey screech owl too (Buechel 1970: 423). When this owl arrives in the Hills in the spring, it is commonly heard but rarely

seen (Melius 1995:39). The Lakotas say that the evening call of this owl is the first to be heard in the spring and thus it is a sign of seasonal change (Buechel 1970). This owl is also associated with spiritual figures known as the "Little People" and specifically with stories that surround Castle Rock and Harney Peak in the Black Hills (Howard, J. 1955).

The short-eared owl [*Asio flammeus*] is one of the more common owls in the open habitats of the Black Hills and surrounding plains. It is a permanent but rare resident at Wind Cave National Park (Melius 1995:39). It goes by the name *seseomimista* [snake-eating owl] in Cheyenne, and it as the only owl in their three classes of birds (Moore, J. 1986:183, 186). Because this owl is diurnal and eats rattlesnakes, which are an object of interest for the Cheyennes, it holds a special position in their cosmology different from the other owls, which are not considered birds but spooks (Moore, J. 1986: 186). The feathers of this owl were worn by Cheyenne Contraries to enhance their ability to move quietly and strike quickly (Powell 2002a: 69). The Lakotas call this owl, *hinhangi*, but no special cultural information has been reported for it (Buechel 1970:76).

The burrowing owl [*Athene Cunicularia*] is commonly found around prairie dog towns where it makes its nest sites in burrows (Melius 1995:37). Although this owl appears at Wind Cave National Park, it is an uncommon summer visitor. The Lakota call it *hinhan makotila* [little earth owl] and know of its connection to prairie dogs (Buechel 1970:176). No other cultural knowledge about it was uncovered. Nor was any cultural information specific to the Lakotas found on the great horned owl [*Bubo virginianus*], *hinhan sa, hinhan hetonia,* or *hinhan tanka* (Ibid:176). The only reference to this owl in the Cheyenne literature indicates that it had protective powers (Grinnell 1972:2:109).

WATERBIRDS AND SHOREBIRDS

A great variety of waterbirds temporarily stop in the Black Hills during their annual migrations, but their appearance in the region of Wind Cave National Park is rare (Progulske 1974:123). Only a few of the waterbirds, including the mallard and northern pintail, are commonly sighted at the park. Similarly, many shorebirds visit the Black Hills at the time of their migrations, but only a few, notably the killdeer and upland plover, stay in the area for an extended season.

Ducks, Geese, Swans, and Grebes [*Anseriformes*] and [*Podipediformes*]

History & Habitat

The snow goose [*Chen caerulescens*], Canada goose [*Branta canadensis*], wood duck [*Aix sponsa*], northern shoveler [*Anas clypeata*], American wigeon [*Anas americana*], canvasback [*Aythya valisineria*], redhead [*Aythya americana*], ring-necked duck [*Aythya collaris*], lesser scaup [*Aythya affinis*], and bufflehead [*Bucephala albeola*] are among the migrating waterbirds sighted only rarely at Wind Cave National Park, while the gadwell [*Anas strepera*], and various varieties of teal [*Anas crecca* and *Anas discors*] and the Western grebe [*Aechmophorus occidentalis*] are reported as uncommon in their seasonal appearance. Only the mallard [*Anas platyrhynchos*] and northern pintail [*Anas acuta*] are commonly sighted migrants at the park.

Tribal Taxonomy

Many varieties of duck, geese, and grebe species are identified and distinguished in Lakota ornithological nomenclatures. The generic name for the duck is *si'yagla (*Buechel 1970:463) and for the goose it is *maga*

(Ibid:327). The swan, which is called *magaska*, and a variety of ducks, known generically as *magaksica*, are connected in Lakota naming systems: these include the gadwell [*magasni-yanlahota*], wigeon [*magasniyanlapato*], and various species of teal [*magasniyanla nawate to* for the green-winged variety and *magasniyanla istohlate ska* for the blue-winged] (Ibid:327). Another Lakota taxon has the mallard duck, *pa-gon'ta*, as its chief representative: it also includes the shoveler [*pagon'ta pa to*], merganser [*pagon'ta nawate ska*], northern pintail [*pagon'ta pa sapa*], and wood duck [*pagon'ta ista sa*] (Ibid:424). The western grebe is called *si'yaka* which is an alternate name given to the teal (Ibid:463).

Among the Cheyennes the generic name for duck is *se?se* (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:46), while other names for ducks are green-winged teal, *o-ha'mishish'* and blue-winged teal, *hamishish'* (Hayden 1862b: 291). Names for goose [*hena?e*], swan [*voestaso*], mallard [*maaxta*], and flat billed [*paposeses*] are also recorded in Cheyenne dictionaries (Petter 1913-15:416, 519; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:46, 110).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Ducks and geese were a source of food for the Cheyennes and the Lakotas, but none of the standard ethnographic sources explain how they were taken. Ducks and their eggs were important in tribal diets too. At least among the Lakotas, goose eggs were avoided because they were believed by some to cause carbuncles (Hassrick 1964:170). A special arrow, called *wismahi yeyapi* [sending arrow], was made for bringing ducks and geese down from a great distance (Hassrick 1964:169).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Among the Lakotas, ducks and other waterfowl are associated with fertility and *Itokaga*, the South Wind (Curtis 1907-30:3:77; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Walker 1980:217-218, 252). They are considered a source of medicine (Standing Bear 1988:70-71), and the people who dream of them often became healers. According to Francis Densmore (1918 :274), Old Buffalo hung mallard feathers on the pipe he used in healing. As Luther Standing Bear (1988:71) reported:

> The duck is a bird that means a good deal to the Sioux people. I told you about the bear dreamer and how the bear helped the Sioux by telling the medicine men about a valuable herb that would cure the sick. So we have a duck dreamer. Long ago, while a medicine man fasted, the duck came to him in a vision and told him about a plant that grew only in the water. The root of this plant is good for those who have nervous troubles, and we all use it to this day. The duck also showed the Sioux how to dig for the lily roots that grow in ponds. The women of the tribe boil these roots, which are something like sweet potatoes and are very nourishing. In some of our most sacred and religious ceremonies we use the beautiful green breast of the duck in this way, showing our thankfulness to this bird. On the peace pipe there is a bit of the neck feathers, and in the confirmation ceremony a duck feather is worn with the eagle feather which is put on the head of the one being confirmed. The duck is considered very wise for his knowledge of the air and of the water as well.

Standing Bear (1988:71) also noted that ducks flying at night warned of the presence of enemies nearby.

Geese are also associated with healing and protective powers, and their directional bearing is north. They appeared in Black Elk's most important vision, flying above the rider from the north (in DeMallie 1984:95, 98, 114), and they also came to him in other visions (in DeMallie 1984: 109:137-138). They are a sign of hope, and they represent the end of a winter's hardship when flying north in spring (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:117, 277-278).

Duck feathers were commonly used for making arrows (Standing Bear 1988:19), and they played many different symbolic roles for the Lakotas. The head feathers of the wood duck, for example, were known to be "*wakan selececa"* (Buechel 1970:424). The green feathers from the head of the mallard drake were also highly regarded; they were emblematic of generosity and hospitality and could be worn either by a man or a woman (Walker 1982:106). In a song from the *Hunka* [Making Relatives] ceremony, the drake's feathers represent the South Wind, *Itokaga* (Walker 1980:234). The wand used in this ceremony was made from a rod of plum wood to which an ear of corn (symbol of the earth) was attached. An eagle plume and the largest quill of an eagle's wing were hung from the rod, and the skin from the head of a mallard drake was wrapped around the quill (Curtis 1907-30:3:75; Densmore 1918:71,74; Walker 1980: 234). A similar wand was used in the *Pte San Lowampi*, a girl's coming of age ceremony, with an eagle plume and quill wrapped in a skin from the head of the mallard drake (Walker 1980:244). In this ceremony, the singer or *walowan* says "the spirit of the eagle and the duck will be with you. They will give the *tonwan* of *Wi* [Sun] and *Okaga* [South Wind]. They will give you many children" (Walker 1980:252). Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:216-218) tells about a white goose wing carried by the virgin representing the north in the Horse Dance and about references to geese in the songs associated with this dance. The practice of seeking donations or "begging from house to house" was called "*maga' wa-pa'ha*," which refers to the wearing of a duck feather headdress (Buechel 1970:327).

Ducks, geese, and swans played central roles in Cheyenne and Arapaho creation stories (Grinnell 1972:2:337; Harrod 2000:31; Trenholm 1970:3), but there is little published evidence on the significance of their feathers in sacred ceremonial contexts. George Dorsey (1905:95) mentions goose feathers in connection with the headdress worn by the Cheyenne Sun Dance leader, and John Moore (1986:187) points out that some of the brightly colored ducks like mallards, teals, and redheads have connections with war. Some Cheyenne courting flutes were carved in the image of a duck's head, which suggests a symbolic association to fertility (Grinnell 1972:1:205). This is also true for the Lakotas. According to Moore (1986:184, 186, 187), ducks and geese are among the Cheyennes' eatable and unmarked species included under the "ordinary" class of birds.

Herons and Pelicans [*Ciconiformes*] and [*Pelecaniformes*]

A wide variety of other waterbirds and shorebirds appear in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park during their seasonal migrations but those in the heron and pelican orders are rare. Among the species reported at Wind Cave are the double-crested cormorant [*Phalacrocorax auritus*], the American white pelican [*Pelecanus erythrorhynchos*], and the blue heron [*Ardea herodias*]. The double-crested cormorant, called *huntka* in Lakota, was known to be able to release an arrow by diving and returning to the surface, repeating their calls as if they had never been injured (Buechel 1970:189). The lower jaws of pelicans, *blo'za* or *ble'ga*, were used by the Lakotas to make medicine bags and their feathers were considered among the best for fletching arrows (Densmore 1918:439; Buechel 1970:110). The Cheyennes called the pelican *voa* (Petter 1913-15:804).

Cranes, Killdeers, and Sandpipers [*Gruiformes*] and [*Charadriformes*]

Habitat and History

During their seasonal migrations, the American coot [*Fulica americana*], the sandhill

crane [*Grus canadensis*], and the long-billed curlew [*Numenius americanus*] are sighted occasionally in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park. Killdeers [*Charadrius vociferus*], which return to the Black Hills in March, are widely seen in the summer, feeding on damp grasslands and meadows (Froiland 1978:125; Melius 1995: 23). They are common summer residents of the park. Upland sandpipers [*Bartramia longicauda*] are also frequent at the park over the summer months.

Tribal Taxonomy

Of these birds, the crane has the greatest symbolic significance for the Lakotas and the Cheyennes. The crane is named *pehan* in Lakota, and the sandhill crane is called *pehan'gila* (Buechel 1970:438). In Cheyenne, the sandhill crane is known as *ne?potatse* (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:28).

Other waterbirds and shorebirds are named in Cheyenne and Lakota taxonomies, but they appear to have little symbolic signifiance. Among the Cheyennes, most of these birds are considered a part of their "ordinary" class, which as Moore (1986:184) points out, means that they are birds in a stable state rather than full of energy and excitement. This class is further divided into three groups, one identified as *"mahpevekseo"* [water birds]. Within this group, the American coot *(oxcem*) is an example of a bird that paints and has symbolic value. The Cheyenne call the killdeer *tohtaanotovahe* (all around neck), and they are known to have a distinctive way of running along the ground. They are assciated with rainfall too (Moore, J. 1986: 184, 186).

For the Lakotas, many of their names for these species of birds are listed, but only a few are reported to have any specific cultural meanings or uses (Buchel 1970: 182, 835). The Lakota associate the nocturnal flights of the upland sandpiper, *slo'slola,* with a rolling and forelorn sound (Buechel 1970:465), while the long-billed curlew, *ti'canica*, is said to call "*mniswu, mniswu*" [no translation given but possibly refers to small droplets of water] (Buechel 1970:489). The American coot is called *hinl'hincala* or possibly *canti' pan*, but no special uses or meanings have been associated with it other than the observation that it is a "noisy" bird (Buechel 1970:125, 177, 799, 802). The killdeer is known as *pehin'cicila* or *ptehin'cicila* [curly calf] in Lakota (Buechel 1970:439, 438), and it is said to call "*Tiblo wewe, tiblo wewe*" [bloody elder brother, bloody elder brother], the meaning of which is not specified.

Modes of Procurement. Preparation, and Use

There is no indication in the literature whether the flesh of any of these birds was taken as food, although crane eggs were considered a delicacy by the Lakotas (Hassrick 1964:169).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Among the Lakotas, cranes are associated with the night, and they are considered messengers of the South Wind, *Itokagta* (Densmore 1918:139; Beckwith, M. 1930: 402-403; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Walker 1983:243, 239, 273-274). Standing Bear (1978:158) wrote:

> ..the crane foretold wet weather by flying high in the air and coming down whistling all the way. These birds were not water birds but were prairie inhabitants having the common name of sandhill cranes. Their songs or whistled notes were quite soft and melodious and their bills were not the lance-like ones of the water heron. This bill was copied in the construction of the wooden love flutes of the Plains people.

Among the Cheyennes, the sandhill crane was considered an important medicine bird. Even though it was associated with the "ordinary" class of birds, it was probably connected to a much earlier symbolic com-

plex linked to the *Massaum* (Moore, J. 1986: 178,186). The Cheyennes believe that cranes possess strong protective powers especially in matters connected with lightning. They also believe that this bird takes pity on people (Grinnell 1972:2:109, 110). In the past, Cheyenne warriors sometimes attached the heads or feathers of sandhill cranes to their shields because this bird's voice was alarming to its enemies (Grinnell 1972:2:195). War whistles were made from the wingbone of a sandhill crane because they were esteemed as powerful war helpers. It was considered a bird of great courage, and if wounded and unable to fly away, it would fight hard and even attack a man who approached it. Courage of this sort was greatly admired in a warrior (Grinnell 1972: 1:204). The crane's voice was thought to alarm the enemy, and so the Cheyennes believed if a warrior imitated the cry of the crane in a fight, he would not be hit by a bullet (Grinnell 1972:2:109). The sandhill crane's courtship dance served as a model for some of the Cheyennes' public dances (Moore, J. 1986: 186).

The killdeer appears in a famous Lakota story about the blue jay (Beckwith, M. 1930:403), and many other waterbirds and shorebirds play roles in Lakota and Cheyenne stories too (Moore, J. 1986:186-187). However, there is little direct information available on their symbolic significance among either tribe.

GAMEBIRDS

Several different species of gamebirds are found in the Black Hills, although only three are reported for Wind Cave National Park: the ring neck pheasant (a naturalized emmigrant from Asia), the sharp-tailed grouse, and the wild turkey. None of these birds, however, are common in the area.

Fowl-Like Birds [Galliformes]

Sharp-tailed grouse, [*Tympanuchus phasianellus*]

This grouse is an uncommonly sighted but permanent resident of the park. Although not reported in the Black Hills or at Wind Cave National Park, two other types of small game birds, quails and bobwhites, are listed in tribal ornithological nomenclatures

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota, the sharp-tailed grouse's name is *can siyo* , while its close relative the spruce grouse is called *wazi' siyo* and the prairie chicken is called *siyo'ka* (Buechel 1970: 123, 425, 463, 825). Grouse were called *vakohease* in Cheyenne, and they were members of the "ordinary" and unpainted class of birds, which could be taken for food. Other than serving as a source of food, this family of birds appears to have had little symbolic importance among the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1986:184, 186). Names for specific varieties include: *henenevahoas* (sage grouse), *sistatovahoas* (ruffled grouse), and *moxtavsenevahoas* (Franklin grouse), and (Petter 1913-15:526).

The Lakota classified the quail as a grouse and called it *siyo cik'ala* [little grouse] (Buechel 1970:267), while the Cheyenne named the quail *koohkova?e* [squatting down] (Petter 1913-15:155; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976: 86). The Lakotas call the bobwhite *johotonia*, which refers to the whistling sound it makes (Buechel 1970:463), and the Cheyennes know it by the same name as a quail (Petter 1913-15:155).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

Luther Standing Bear (1988:68) said of these birds:

> They were fine to eat, and when we picked them, we saved the wing feathers for our arrows. These birds, began to travel south with the cold weather, but there were always a few that lingered behind until after snow fell. They would feed on buffalo berries and on the rosebuds that ripened in the fall.

He also describes how boys hunted them (Standing Bear 1988:15). William Bordeaux (1929:200) offers some additional details on Lakota methods of capturing fowls. Grouse meat and eggs were among the Lakotas' favorite foods (Hassrick 1964:169), and in the testimony before the U.S. Senate (1904), the Black Hills were reported as a location for hunting these birds. Their feathers were valued for fletching arrows (Densmore 1918:438-439; Standing Bear 1988:19; Brown 1992:18), and they adorned the lances carried by the officers of the *Tokala* or Kit Fox Society (Wissler 1912: 15). Their wing bones went into the making of whistles used by wolf dreamers and warriors (Wissler 1912:90-91; Densmore 1918 :179).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Standing Bear (1988:57, 60) describes how grouse inspired a certain style of dancing among the Lakotas, and he further notes that they have special powers which prevent hunters from hitting them. Furthermore, he writes they are one of the birds that make sounds that match Lakota words. Severt Young Bear (Theisz 1994:31-33) gave a lengthy description of how a Lakota man learned a particular kind of singing vocalization in a vision he received from a grouse in the Black Hills.

Wild turkey
[*Meleagris gallopavo*]

The wild turkey is also an uncommon but permanent resident of the park. It was first reported in the written record on September 17, 1804 by Lewis and Clark, who learned of its existence in the Black Hills from the trader Jon Vallé, who wintered in the area with the Cheyennes (Moutlon 1987:3:85, 482). Although it remained abundant in the Hills throughout the nineteenth century, its numbers gradually declined. The varieties now present in the region are not from the old eastern stock but represent a southwestern subspecies reintroduced to the region from 1948 to 1950 (Progulske 1974: 124). In Lakota, the turkey is called *wagle'ksun* (Buechel 1970:515). Standing Bear (1988:19) wrote that the Lakotas considered turkey feathers among the best for fletching arrows, but since they were hard to acquire, they were used only by adult warriors and hunters.

The Cheyenne call the wild turkey *ma?xe?ne* (Petter 1913-15:1071; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976: 115), and like the Lakotas, they valued the bird's feathers for arrows because they were not damaged by blood (Curtis 1907-30: 6: 156; Grinnell 1972:1:181). Turkey feathers were also attached to Cheyenne lances used in ceremonies or in battle to count coup (Grinnell 1972:1:187), and the bird's beard was used in making certain medicines (Ibid:134). Like the grouse, the turkey is classed with ordinary birds, which are considered edible and thereby hunted for food by the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1986: 186).

LAND BIRDS

This group includes a wide variety of different species, many of which are neither named nor symbolically marked in Lakota and Cheyenne ornithological nomenclatures. Among the Cheyenne, most of the birds in this category are included in the class of birds known as *xamaeveskeo* or "ordinary" birds, and in the subclasses *vekseohes*, which contains small birds who build tree nests and inhabit riparian forests, and *hoevekseo*, a name that refers largely to edible ground birds (Moore, J. 1986:184, 186). Among the Lakotas, where symbolically significant birds tend to be classified according to their affiliation with one of the four winds, only a few species of land birds are definitively identified in this way. For

the vast majority, their symbolic positions are not recorded in the published literature.

Doves & Pigeons [*Columbiformes*]

Mourning Dove [*Zenaidura macroura*]

The mourning dove is another common summer resident at Wind Cave National Park. The other member of the *Columbidae* family reported in the park, the rock dove [*Columba livia*], is not common. The mourning dove is known as *wakin'yela* in Lakota (Buechel 1970:531), and given its name, it may very well be associated with the thunders. In Cheyenne, the dove is called *hemene* or *hemeneo?o* (Petter 1913-15:405; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:72). Lakotas believe that when the female of the species wails its song, she warns of the presence of ghosts in an area (Buechel 1970:531; Fire and Erdoes 1972: 167). Other than this, no other reports on the cultural significance of doves have been found in the ethnographic literature on the Lakotas or the Cheyennes.

Goatsuckers [*Caprimulgiformes*]

Common Nighthawk [*Chordeiles minor*]

This member of the goatsucker order is a nocturnal summer resident in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park. At the end of the summer, nighthawks gather in large flocks for their annual migration (Froiland 1978:126; Melius 1995:43). It's name in Lakota *pi'sko* (Buechel 1970:444). Like owls, it is considered a helper or *tonweyapi* of the East Wind, *Wiyhiyanpa* or *Yanpa* (Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:126), but in some sources (Hassrick 1964:214), it is identified with the Thunderbirds and the West Wind (Black Elk in Niehardt 1959: 133-134). Like the swallow and horned lark, it is a bird that appears in the dreams of the *Heyoka* or Contraries (Hassrick 1964: 214). The bird is thought to bring news, and it is known as the last bird to return to the region in the spring when the buffalo grow fat and the grass is green. Its arrival signaled the time when the Lakotas made preparations for their large summer bison hunts. It was also known as the last to leave in the fall after the other birds migrated south (Dorsey, J. 1874:500; Buechel 1970: 444).

The Cheyennes classified the nighthawk with the vulture as a black whirlwind, *moxtavetas*, a member of their highest and most "holy" class of birds, but its common name was *pe'e*. Like the vulture, it is associated with death, twilight, and the west (Moore, J. 1986:182-184). Because of the bird's associations with the Thunders, its wing bones were once made into whistles that Cheyenne Contraries used in their dances (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:44).

Whippoorwill [*Caprimulgus vociferus*]

The whippoorwill is also a common summer resident at Wind Cave National Park. The Lakota call it *pako'skala* (Buechel 1970:429). When the whippoorwills sing together at night "*Hohin, hohin*," one says in reply, "No." If the birds stop singing, it is a sign that the person listening will die soon; when they continue to sing, the person is predicted to live a long life (Dorsey, J. 1894: 500). The whippoorwill's song is associated with true love in a story in the Four Winds cycle where Uktomi tries to deceive *Itokagata*, the South Wind, by disguising himself as a whippoorwill (Walker 1983, 203, 345-347, 367). Whippoorwills were considered edible by the Lakotas, and they were caught by slowly approaching them with outstretched arms (Hassrick 1964:170). Except for their name, *ai'sto-mo-pi* (Hayden 1862b: 291), no information about them was uncovered in the literature on the Cheyennes.

Kingfishers
[*Coraciiformes*]

Many of the species in this order of birds occupied important symbolic positions in Lakota and Cheyenne ceremonies and healing practices.

KINGFISHERS
[*ALCEDINIDAE*]

The belted kingfisher [*Megaceryle alcyon*] was called *hoya'zela cik'ala* [the little one who fishes with his mouth] (Buechel 1970: 186) in Lakota and *matsenestse* [eyes with matter in them] in Cheyenne (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:59). It is a common bird in the Black Hills (Froiland 1978:122), but it is a rare migrant in the area of Wind Cave National Park. The Lakotas and the Cheyennes associated this bird with warfare. Its fighting qualities were greatly admired, and it is one of the birds whose body parts were used as a *wotawe* or amulet. The *Heyoka* or Contraries, for example, used the bird's cones in a *wotawe,* which they attached to the ends of their spears (Buechel 1970:186). Cheyenne warriors were known to use the kingfisher as a protective medicine, tying the skins of the bird into their hair when they went to war (Grinnell 1972:2:120).

The belted kingfisher was also an important spirit guardian for Lakotas who became healers (Tyon in Walker 1980: 161), and it appeared in this role in one of their Stone Boy stories (Walker 1983:96-97). Among the Cheyennes, the kingfisher, *nepotaz* (Petter 1913-15:634), was considered an important medicine bird (Moore, J. 1986:178). The Cheyennes believed that kingfisher feathers have the ability to treat wounds from bullets and arrows in the same way that water is able to heal (Moore, J. 1986:186). George Bird Grinnell (1972:2: 151) gave an example of doctoring with the assistance of a kingfisher.

Woodpeckers
[*Picaformes*]

WOODPECKERS
[*PICADAE*]

Seven different species from the family, *Picidae*, are located in Wind Cave National Park and some of these birds are identified in the ornithological nomenclatures of the Lakotas and Cheyennes. Both tribes believed that woodpeckers possessed great powers, and as a result, their feathers were used in a variety of different ceremonial contexts.

Red Headed Woodpecker
[*Melanerpes erythrocephalus*]

The red-headed woodpecker is an uncommon summer resident at Wind Cave National Park.

Tribal Taxonomy

The common Cheyenne name for the redheaded woodpecker is *voo?kooma* [white blanket], and its sacred ascription is *mema-envecess* (Moore, J. 1986:182). The Lakotas address this bird as nephew and call him *wagnu'ka* (Buechel 1970:516, 670).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

For the Cheyennes, the red-headed woodpecker was a bird with great power, a symbol of the sun, and associated with male fertility and the agnatic side of the social structure (Moore, J. 1986:184). For the Lakotas, the bird was symbolic of holiness and sincerity (Walker 1982:106). It was associated with *Wiyhiyanpa*, the East Wind (Curtis 1907-30:3:77), and featured in many sacred stories (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 398; Walker 1983:274, 371).

Among the Cheyennes, the feathers of the red-headed woodpecker were worn as talismans, and they ornamented war clubs because of the bird's spiritual power (Grinnell

1972:2:109). The Cheyennes associate this bird with their Sun Dance and use its skin and body parts throughout the ceremony (Ibid:109, 232-233, 265, 268). The willow wreaths are decorated with its feathers (Ibid:266), and the leader of the dance once wore a headdress adorned with the scalp of this bird (Dorsey, G. 1905:95).

Among the Lakotas, red feathers from the red-headed woodpecker were worn only by the *wicasa wakan* (holy men) (Walker 1982:106). The Lakotas attached the head feathers of this bird to a wide variety of implements used in their social dealings (Walker 1982:106). This followed the practice for the use of feathers from the pileated woodpecker, known as *kanke'ca* (Densmore 1918:70; Buechel 1970:284). The head of of a red-headed woodpecker was placed on the *hunkatacanunpa*, the wooden staff and its feathers were hung from the wands used in the *Hunka* ceremony (Densmore 1918:70-71; Curtis 1907-30:3:75; Buechel 197:516). Densmore (1918: 70-71) wrote this bird was important in the *Hunka* ceremony (also known as *Alo'wanpi*) because it was considered:

> a simple, humble bird, which stays near its nest and is seldom seen. The bird seems to have been considered especially appropriate because children who underwent this ceremony were more closely guarded and protected than others. They usually belonged to well-to-do families, in which girls were seldom seen in public until they were grown up.

This woodpecker's skin was also one of the objects placed in the bundle for the Sacred Pipe as instructed by the White Buffalo Calf woman (Curtis 1907-30:3:58), and it was one of the birds addressed in the Sun Dance (Sword in Deloria 1929:396-397; Black Elk in Brown 1971:78). It is known to have been a spiritual helper to the famous medicine man Frank Fools Crow (Brown 1992:61).

Yellow and Red-Shafted Flickers [*Colaptes, spp.*]

The yellow-shafted (a.k.a. yellow hammer or northern) flicker [*Colaptes auratus*] and red-shafted flicker [*Colaptes cafter*] are also important symbolically to local tribes. Both are summer residents in the Black Hills. The yellow-shafted flicker is common at Wind Cave National Park. The red-shafted variety, while uncommon in the park, is the most numerous of the woodpeckers in the Black Hills where it is found in pine and deciduous forests at all elevations (Froiland 1978:126).

Tribal Taxonomy

The yellow-shafted flicker, called *sunzi' ca* by the Lakotas, is reported to say "*anpetu waste, anpetu waste"* [good day, good day], and it is one of the birds represented in the visionary drawings of the Lakota artist Black Hawk (Berlo 2000:140). The Cheyenne call the northern flicker *ve?eeh,o* or alternatively, *ehoesetto* [literally, lightning thing] (Moore, J. 1986:182-183).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The Oglalas believe that when storms approach, the flicker gives a shrill call similar to an eagle bone whistle, and as a result, it is associated with the Thunders (Brown 1992:45). The bird is addressed in the prayers of the Sun Dance leader before the center pole is cut because, as Densmore (1919:111-112) wrote, this bird "cannot overcome its enemies in open flight but is expert in dogging them, darting from one side of the tree-trunk to another." Its feathers adorn the eagle bone whistles used in the Sun Dance, helping the dancers communicate with the Thunders (Brown 1992: 45). The Lakotas, who call the red-shafted variety *sun'luta*, believe it is a harbinger for the arrival of good weather (Buechel 1970: 470). Unlike its yellow-shafted relative, no other symbolic connections have been reported in the literature on the Lakotas.

Flicker tail feathers are said by the Cheyennes to have been burned and painted by lightning, and they are used in the Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:232). More than any other bird, the flicker is associated with complex symbolism. The Cheyenne identify the yellow-shafted flicker with the moon because it has a crescent on its chest and because the wave-like patterns of its flight suggest the waxing and waning of this celestial body. The rich yellow color of its tail feathers signal fertility and the sharp black tips mark powers that can deflect illness and evil (Moore, J. 1986:182-183). Men who possessed strong spiritual power sometimes wore the feathers in their hair as protection. If the feathers were sent magically into another person's body, they could cause a lingering illness and even death unless the afflicted individual secured relief through proper treatment (Grinnell 1972:2: 145). Finally, its yellow-painted cheeks, represening 'peace," are associated with female symbolism. The red-shafted flicker's cheeks, by contrast, signify 'blood paint' and masculinity (Moore, J. 1986:182-183).

Downy and Hairy Woodpeckers [*Picoides, spp.*]

Two other woodpecker species, the Downy [*Picoides pubescens*] and Hairy [*Picoides villosus*] woodpeckers, are called *cansin'-kahpu* in Lakota, a term that also refers to the ponderosa pine sap used as a chewing gum (Beuchel 1970:799). Both of these species, which are common permanent residents at Wind Cave National Park, also have important connections to healers and healing in Lakota traditions (Dorsey, J. 1894:495). These and other woodpeckers were called *kokohohe* in Cheyenne, and unlike the flicker and redheaded variety, they are considered ordinary birds (Moore, J. 1986:184).

Songbirds [*Passeriformes*]

Many songbirds are named in Cheyenne and Lakota nomenclatures, and several of them have important positions in tribal cosmologies.

LARKS [*ALAUDIDAE*]

The horned lark, *Eremophila alpestris*, is a fairly common and permanent resident of grassland areas in the Black Hills, including Wind Cave National Park. In Lakota, it is called *mastekola*, which means "the friend that desires warm weather" (Buechel 1970: 333). Whenever the horned lark soared straight up into the air singing *masteko*, "I like warm weather," it forecasted the coming of good weather (Buechel ibid.; Lame Deer in Fire and Erdoes 1972:167). The people who dreamed of this bird became *Heyoka* or Contraries (Hassrick 1964:214). Lke the swallow, it was associated with the Thunders (Black Elk in Niehardt 1959:133-134). It was the hero in a race narrative, very similar to the Race Track story, which explains how various animals were marked and painted (Walker 1917:219-221).

CORVIDS [*CORVIDAE*]

The Corvid family contains two species, the crow [*Corvus americanus*] and the magpie [*Pica pica*], both of which occupy important symbolic positions in Lakota and Cheyenne cultures. Both are also ubiquitous residents of the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park. The crow is most prevalent in spring and summer, transient in the fall, and less common in winter (Froiland 1978:123; Melius 1995: 53). The magpie maintains a permanent residence in the area throughout the year, especially in open forest environments (Froiland 1978:123). Various species

of jays are common and permanent residents of the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park, including the pinon jay [*Gymnorhinus cyanocephalus*], the blue jay [*Cyanocitta cristata*], and grey jay [*Perisoreus canadensis*].

Tribal Taxonomy

The crow is called *kangi* in Lakota (Buechel 1972:283) and *okohke* in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15:317; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:29). The crow was widely recognized by the Cheyennes as one of the brightest of the bird species. It symbolized freedom from oppression and obstruction (Petter 1913-15:3117). It was one of three bird species the Lakotas believed made sounds intelligble in their language (Standing Bear 1988:60), and it was often kept as a pet and taught to speak Lakota words (Hassrick 1964:172; Buechel 1970: 283). According to Buechel (Ibid:283): "The crow cries out in the morning, *'wakalya, wakalya'* (boil, boil, which refers to the boiling of coffee or any liquid). The Cheyennes also believe that crows can communicate with certain people (Grinnell 1972:2: 107) and that they live in families with identifiable ages and sexes (Moore, J. 1986:183).

The magpie is known as *halhate* or *unkce'kiha* by the Lakota who say that it calls *"halhata, halhata, hal, hal, hal*" (Beuchel 1970:507). Magpies are known as *mo?e?ha* in Cheyenne, a name that refers to their wave-like flying pattern (Petter 1913-15:678; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:65).

In the Lakota language, the pinon jay is called *zintka'to ipi'ska* and the blue and grey jays are both known as *zintka'to gleglega* (Buechel 1970:658). The Cheyenne call the blue jay *honehevecess* [wolf-man] (Petter 1913-15:134; Moore, J. 1986:184).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

The Lakotas sometimes took crows for food, and the Cheyennes did so as well but only in times of hunger and starvation (Hassrick 1964:172; Grinnell 1972:1:256). Lakota hunters trapped crows by hiding under pine boughs to which small pieces of fat were affixed (Hassrick ibid.). The Lakotas also trapped magpies for food in the same way they caught crows, and they also consumed their eggs (Hassrick 1964:172). Unlike the Lakotas, the Cheyennes never ate magpies, not even when facing hunger and starvation, because they were so highly respected (Grinnell 1972:1: 256). Crow feathers were commonly used by the Lakotas in making arrows for hunting and war (Standing Bear 1988:19).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

In the Great Race, the crow took the side of humans and so this bird is highly respected by the Cheyennes and the Lakotas (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:24). It was the magpie, however, who won the race for humans, and as a result, this bird is even more revered by the Cheyennes (Stands in Timber 1967:24; DeMallie 1984:397, 403-404). Images of both of these birds were beaded and quilled on Cheyenne footwear and buckskin coats. One Cheyenne reportedly wore one of these coats to Washington, D.C. in the nineteenth century to demonstrate the importance of his trip (Petters 1913-15:317). Lakota attitudes toward the magpie are more ambivalent. Nevertheless, the magpie and crow were honored by the Lakotas in their prayers at the Sun Dance (Black Elk in Brown 1971:78).

The Lakotas associate the crow with war and the movement of arrows in battle (Walker 1980:260; 1982:32, 37; Brown 1992:43; Densmore 1918:181). Eagle Shield stated: "We want our arrows to fly as swift and straight as the crow. The crow is always the first to arrive at the gathering of the animals in the Black Hills" (Densmore 1918:181).

Crows also figure prominently in other sacred stories, including the Lakotas' Falling Star cycle and their *Inktomi* (Trickster) stories (Beckwith, M. 1930:388; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397, 403-404, Walker 1983:173). In James Walker's work (1980: 125) crows are associated symbolically with the North Wind, *Waziyata*, but William Powers (1986:139-140) links them to *Wiyhiyanpa*, the East Wind. They are believed to have keen vision and the ability to forecast the future, often appearing in visions that gave warnings of future events. Today, their powers are closely connected to *Yuwipi* practitioners who are able to foretell the future (Walker 1982:43; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:385-386; Densmore 1918: 186-188; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995: 111-112). Historically, camp sentinals fixed crow skins to a girdle worn behind their back or wore a crow skin split in two with the beak projecting from their forehead (Densmore 1918:71, 319).

Crow feathers hung from the war pipes carried by Lakota men who dreamed of the bird (Walker 1982:95). One of the Lakota *akicita* or soldier societies was known as the *Kangi yuha* (Crow Owners); its defining symbol was the crow (Blish 1924:87), and its members wore necklaces made from crowskins (Densmore 1948:183). Many of the functions of this society paralleled those of another warrior association, the Wolf Society (Brown 1992:43, Walker 1980:260, 1982: 32, 37). Crow feathers were connected to the actions of warriors in other societies as well: the members of the White Badger Society, for example, carried a wand decorated with a crow's feathers (Walker 1980:262), crow skins were kept by the leaders of the Omaha Dance Society (Walker 1980:266), and members of the *Miwatani* Society wore a tanned buffalo skin with crow feathers attached on each side (Wissler 1912:46). Crow feathers were part of the bustle, called *kan'gi'ha mig-na'ka*, worn by Omaha dancers (Beuchel 1970: 283). They were also tied to the lances carried by the officers of the Kit Fox Society or *Tokala*, by the *Blotonka*, and by the *Cante Tinza* (Wissler 1912:15, 58, 72).

Among the Cheyennes, crows were believed to possess powers concerning war. Their feathers were often attached to shields, and warriors sometimes tied their stuffed skins to scalp locks, believing the spirit embodied in the skins would warn them of danger (Grinnell 1972:2:105). One of the vikuts used by Cheyenne warriors to carry water had crow feathers tied to the end of its prongs (Ibid:23-24). The feathers of these birds were particularly important in the ceremonies and adornments of the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers (Moore, J. 1986:183). The Cheyenne believed that crows were able to locate bison. When bison were scarce, the direction hunters traveled to find them was often determined by the path a crow followed when it flew into a Cheyenne camp (Grinnell 1972:1:110). In their antelope hunting ceremonies, the Cheyennes used a pole-like implement called an antelope arrow to which a single crow feather was attached (Ibid:1:284). They also tied Crow feathers to the seams of their ceremonial rattles (Ibid:1:203).

The magpie was one of the major birds featured in the sacred stories of the Lakotas, but it occupies a very ambivalent cultural position in these texts (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397, 403-404; Walker 1983:85, 127, 128, 273-274, 335-336, 354, 371). The magpie is regarded as the messenger of *Waziyata*, the North Wind (Powers, W. 1977:191; 1986:139-140). It is a much revered culture hero in its associations with war, but it is also considered a dirty, defiling bird (as the reference to defecation in one of its names suggests) and linked to the duplicitous behavior of the trickster, *Inktomi* (Beckwith, M. 1930:388, 434; Walker 1983: 335-336). Magpie feathers were not widely used: they did decorate the lances carried by the officers of the Kit Fox Society or *Tokala*, however (Wissler 1912:15).

Among the Cheyennes, by contrast, magpies were included among the "holy" class of

birds along with the golden eagle, nighthawk, crow, flicker, and red-headed woodpecker (Moore, J. 1986:182-183). Moore (Ibid:181) writes: "The magpie is said to be a sacred messenger to the high god because it comes near to human habitation and overhears their conversations. It was a messenger to Sweet Medicine, the culture hero of the Cheyennes." The Cheyennes believed that magpies, like their crow cousins, possessed great powers in matters of war. Their feathers frequently adorned the shields of Cheyenne warriors, and they decorated the bows of the Contraries (Dorsey, G. 1905:25; Grinnell 1972: 2:105). Stuffed magpies were sometimes tied to the headdresses of warriors for spiritual protection (Grinnell 1972: 2:124). When a magpie flew into the camp of a war party, the Cheyennes would watch the way the bird flew away to learn the direction from which their enemy would come (Ibid:2:110). The Cheyennes also attached magpie feathers to the seam of their rattles, and they tied them to the pole used in their pronghorn hunting ceremony (Ibid: 1:203, 284). The Cheyennes believed that, like crows, magpies were able to converse with some humans (Ibid :2:107).

None of the jays are reported to have had any special symbolic associations or uses, although the blue jay does appear in a popular and widespread story among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes (Kroeber 1905: 186-187; Beckwith, M. 1930:399-408).

SWALLOWS [*HIRUNDINIDAE*]

Various species in the swallow family, *Hirundinidae,* including the bank swallow [*Riparia riparia*], the cliff swallow [*Hirundo pyrrhonota*], the tree swallow [*Tachycineta bicolor*], the northern rough-winged swallow [*Stelgidopteryx serripennis*], the violet-green swallow [*Tachycineta thalassina*], and the barn swallow [*Hirundo rustica*] appear during the summer months at Wind Cave National Park. Of these, only the barn, cliff, and violet-green swallows are common in occurance.

Tribal Taxonomy

Upi-jata, which refers to a forked tail, is a generic ascription for the swallow, but there are many species-specific names in the Lakota language (Buechel 1970:508). The generic name is also used to denote swifts, which have forked tails, including the white-throated swift [*Aeronautes saxatalis*], an uncommon summer resident at Wind Cave National Park. The bank swallow is called *hupucansakala* (Ibid:190). Another swallow whose name has a common root is *hupu'-wanblila,* which Buechel (Ibid.) identifies as a swallow-tailed kite. The identification is unlikely since this kite is confined to the Gulf Coast. This is more likely the name for the cliff swallow, whose habitats and habits are closest to the bank swallow. The tree swallow is named *icapsinpsin-calaikpi ska* and the barn swallow is known as *icapsinpsincalaikpi sa* (Ibid:202). The Cheyennes called the swallow *mesoke* and include it among their ordinary class of birds (Petter 1913-15:1033; Moore, J. 1986:184).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

All species of swallow are considered very holy or *wakan* by the Lakotas (Sword in Walker 1980:102; DeMallie 1984:84), and they are featured in many sacred stories, including ones associated with the Falling Star cycle, the Four Winds, and Iron Hawk (Beckwith, M. 1930:388; Walker 1983:81-82, 319-321, 328, 333, 353-354, 355-356, 357, 363; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397-398, 407-408). They are admired for their swiftness in flight and their ability to escape harm from lightning and hail (Black Elk in Niehardt 1959:133-134). Standing Bear (1978:158) wrote about the swallow as follows:

> When the swallows, which were called *icapsinpsincela,* on account of their swift and bold darting here and there, came in flocks flying audaciously about, we knew a

> show was coming our way. While it rained we saw no swallows, but as soon as it had gone, again would come the swallows more hilarious than ever. There is no literal translation for the word *icapsinpsincela*, but it was a war term used by the warriors in describing their quick movements and criss-crossing maneuvers in battle, which were similar to the flying of the swallow.

Here a connection is made between the swift movements of swallows and the actions of men and horses in warfare. As Lone Man told Densmore (1918:118) "what a warrior desires most for his horse is that it may be as swift as the swallow in dodging the enemy or in direct flight."

Swallows are messengers of the Thunders, *Wakinyan*, and the West Wind (Densmore 1918:118; Hassrick 1964:214; Powers, W. 1977:192, 1986:139-140; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980: 101), and they are closely connected to the *Heyoka* or contraries, who once decorated their shields with swallow images to display their allegiance to the thunders (Vestal 1934:7; Hassrick 1964:214; Walker 1980: 279). Swallows are symbolically connected with dragonflies and butterflies and believed to be companions of the blacktail deer (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:99; Powers, W. 1986:152). Swallows are observed to appear before the arrival of thunderstorms (Standing Bear 1978:158; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:157). Several Lakotas, including Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984: 84-85, 114, 130, 222, 228, 229), White Bull (in Vestal 1934:12-15), and Lone Man (in Densmore 1918:188), recounted visions where swallows appeared in advance of thunderstorms. Lone Man received a *wotawe* charm from the swallows or "riders in the cloud," and he fastened the skin of the swallow on his head when storms approached, singing songs to ward off their danger (Densmore 1918:188). Historically, swallow designs were painted on the horses and bison robes of members of the Sacred Bow Society (Blish 1934:186). Certain kinds of medical treatments were under the guardianship of swallows (Bordeaux 1929:109).

There appears to have been little special symbolic attachment to them among the Cheyennes, although Grinnell (1972:1:201) reported that swallow images were painted on war shields. This suggests they may have been connected to the Thunders in this culture too.

THRASHERS AND ASSOCIATES [*MIMIDAE*]

The *Mimidae* family is represented by six different species at Wind Cave National Park, and most of these are rare and uncommon residents or migrants. None of the species are associated with any special cultural functions or meanings, and only two are reported in tribal nomenclatures. The mockingbird [*Mimus polyglottos*] is called *haestoho?semehe* (one with many sounds) in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15:714; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:69). The Lakota name for the brown thrasher [*Toxostoma rufum*] is *cehu'paglagla*, which refers to the chattering sound of its teeth in cold weather (Buechel 1970:129, 799).

ROBINS AND ASSOCIATES [*MUSCIPAIDAE*]

Six species from the *Muscipapidae* family are found at Wind Cave National Park. The eastern bluebird [*Sialia sialis*] and mountain bluebird [*Sialia currucoides*] are summer residents, but only the latter is common in the park. Townsend's solitaire [*Myadestes townsendi*] and the American robin [*Turdus migratorius*] are common and permanent residents of the park, while the Veery [*Hylochichla fuscescens*] and Swainson's thrush [*Hylocichla ustulata*] are rare to uncommon.

With the possible exception of the robin, none of the birds in this family appear to have had any special importance to either the Lakotas or the Cheyennes. The Cheyennes knew the bluebird as *ota?taveve?keso* (bluebird) (Petter 1913-15:134; North-

ern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:9). The Lakotas named the bluebird *zintka'to* (Buechel 1970:658). The Lakota artist Black Hawk painted a picture of the mountain bluebird, which is common in the Black Hills (Berlo 2000:136), and it is mentioned in an Iron Hawk story (Beckwith, M. 1930:388).

The Cheyennes named the robin *ma?e-see-onahe* (red breasted one) (Petter 1913-15: 134; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:92), and the Lakotas called it *siso'ka* (Buchel 1970: 463). The robin is also a figure in an Iron Hawk story (Beckwith, M. 1930:388), and it is one of the birds Lakotas prayed to during the Sun Dance (Sword in Deloria 1929:397; Black Elk in Brown 1971:78). The thrush is named *can'gugu'ya sa* in Lakota (Buechel 1970: 116), and it also appears in the same Iron Hawk story as the robin (Beckwith, M. 1930:388).

CHICKADEES [*PARIDAE*]

The black-capped chickadee [*Parus atricapillus*] of the *Paridae* family is an abundant and permanent species of deciduous and coniferous forest habitats in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park (Froiland 1978:123). The bird is called *ski' 'pipi, ski'-bibila*, and *wi'ya wala* by the Lakotas, who believe it has a cleft tongue that splits in seven stages from October until it heals in April. When the turkey vultures return, the bird is said to remain silent because the cold weather is gone (Buechel 1970:464). This bird appears in the travels of the culture heroes Iron Hawk and Stone Boy (Beckwith, M.1930:389; Deloria 1978:33-34). Its Cheyenne name is not given in the literature, but George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:81) wrote that it was known to like the seeds of the hairy golden aster, *Chryspsis folios,* which is called *mis'ka tsi* [chickadee plant]. The Cheyennes considered it a wise bird because it knew when summer came and told the people of its arrival (Ibid:110).

NUTHATCHES [*SITTADAE*]

WRENS [*TROGLODYTIDAE*]

Nuthatches, members of the *Sittadae* family, have not been reported in Lakota and Cheyenne bird taxonomies, although the *Troglodytidae* family of wrens is well-identified in Lakota nomenclatures. The rock wren [*Salpinctes obsoletes*], an uncommon summer resident at Wind Cave National Park, is known as *igu'gaotilia* in Lakota (Buchel 1970:805), while the more common house wren [*Troglodytes aedon*] is called *canhe'-yala* because of its loud voice (Ibid:116). Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:152) told about his first boyhood hunting experience, which involved shooting a bird that he identified as a wren. He also mentioned the wren in a Falling Star story and gave it the name "Holds the Buffalo Back" (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:407-408).

FLYCATCHERS [TYRANNIDAE]

Several different members of the flycatcher family, *Tyrannidae*, appear in Wind Cave National Park. Most of the species are rare or uncommon summer residents, but the eastern kingbird [*Tyrannus tyrannus*] is common in its appearance. The kingbird is referred to in the prayers of the Lakota Sun Dance leader before the center tree is felled because this bird "though small is feared by all of its enemies" (Densmore 1919:111-112; Black Elk in Brown 1971:78). It is also mentioned as a spiritual guardian (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:109) and as a figure in a Falling Star story (Ibid:307). Lakota call the eastern variety [*Tyrannus tyrannus*] *wasna'-ikpi ska* [needs red grease] and the western species [*Tyrannus verticalis*] *wasna'ikpi zi* [needs yellow grease] (Buechel 1970:550). The Cheyennes know it as *evecesseve* (Petter 1913-15:134).

The black-billed cuckoo [*Coccyzus erythropthalmu*], a member of the *Cuculidae* family, is a rare summer resident in the park. It is called *cepela tanka*, *soho'tonla,* or *ico'-sapa* by the Lakotas, who described many of its habits to Buechel (1970:298, 804, 835). Its symbolic importance has not been recorded in the ethnographic literature, however.

VIREOS [*VIERONIDAE*]

SHRIKES [*LANIIDAE*]

WAXWINGS [*BOMBYCILLIDAE*]

Various species of vireos, shrikes, and waxwings are also present at Wind Cave National Park. The warbling vireo [*Vireo gilvns*] is known as *zintka'zila* [little yellow bird] in Lakota (Buechel 1970:658). The loggerhead shrike [*Lanius ludovicianus*] is linked with hawks in Lakota taxonomies and known as *cetan watapala* (Buechel 1970:130).

EMBERZIDS [*EMBERIZIDAE*]

The Emberzids are represented by a large group of highly varied species, which include sparrows, towhees, juncos, blackbirds, and tanagers. Many of the birds in this group are not named, nor do they appear to have any special symbolic significance. Some species, such as the meadowlark and tanger, hold a very significant cultural position in Lakota and Cheyenne traditions.

BUNTINGS AND GROSBECKS [*CAROLINAE*]

The Lark bunting [*Calamospiza melanocory*] is a rare summer resident at Wind Cave National Park; it is known *wa'bloska* [white wing blackbird], implying a link in Lakota taxonomy with blackbirds. As Buechel (1970:511), it sings *"Ska, ska, ska; to, to, to; sa, sa, sa. zi, zi, zi, hol, hol, hol,*, and while alighting *wil, wil, wil. "*

The evening grosbeak [*Hesperiphona vespertina*], a rare but permanent resident of the park, is called *cetan watapela zi* in Lakota. Even though it feeds on seeds and berries, the Lakota observe that it goes after other birds like a hawk does, and therefore, they associate it with other birds classed as *cetan* (Buechel 1970:130).

BLACKBIRDS AND ASSOCIATES [*ICTERINAE*]

Blackbirds, bobolinks, meadowlarks, grackles, and orioles are often linked together because of their pointed bills and the strong and direct character of their flight patterns. All of the species reported in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park are listed in either Lakota or Cheyenne nomenclatures.

Blackbirds [*Agelaius, Molthrus,* and *Xanthocephalus*]

Except for the yellow-headed blackbird [*Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus*], which is a rare summer resident of the park, the other two species of blackbirds, the red wing [*Agelaius phoeniceus*] and Brewer's [*Euphagus cyanocephalus*] are common.

The red-wing blackbird is called *wa'blosa* [red wing] in Lakota, and it is associated with a wide range of meaningful song patterns, which can be translated into Lakota words (Buechel 1970:511). The Cheyennes called it *heheenm* (Petter 1913-15:134). The yellow-headed variety is called w*a 'pagica* in Lakota (Buechel 1970:544) and *he?e-heeno* (yellowhead) in the Cheyenne language (Moore 1986:184). The Brewer's or common blackbird [*Euphagus cyanocephalus*] is called *wa'hpa tanka* in Lakota, a

name which refers to its larger size (Buechel 1970:520); it was one of the birds for whom prayers were offered at the Sun Dance (Black Elk in Brown 1971:78). Standing Bear (1975:10) wrote about the close relationship between blackbirds and Lakota horses. When horses moved about, they disturbed the grasshoppers, a prime food for the blackbirds, and as he put it: "It was a common sight to see several of the birds perched on a pony's back at the same time."

Grackles
[*Quiscalus quiscula*]

Cowbirds
[*Molthrus ater*]

The common grackle is a frequent summer resident of Wind Cave National Park. The cowbird [*Molthrus ater*] is typically sighted in the lower elevation pastures and fields of the Black Hills during its spring and fall migrations, but it is not reported at Wind Cave National Park (Froiland 1978:133).

The common grackle, who is called *can'-wahpa tanka* [large blackbird of the tree] is related in Lakota taxonomy to the blackbird; it is also one of the birds known to utter words in Lakota (Buechel 1970:126). The brownheaded cowbird is another species the Lakota link to blackbirds; they call it *wahpa hota* [grey blackbird] or *pteya'hpa* because of its association with bison (Buechel 1970:449; Brown 1992: 25). These birds scavange for parasites on the bodies of bison. The cowbird appears as a helper in a Lakota story entitled "The Gift of the Horse" (Deloria 1978:128-129).

Bobolink
[*Dolichinyx oryzivorus*]

The bobolink, another rare summer resident of the park, is called *maka zintkala* (earth bird) and *manka'owanke* in Lakota because of the stripes covering its back (Buechel 1970:329). In Cheyenne, it is called *kokoa,* which is also the name for quail (Petter 1913-15:155). It does not appear to have had any special cultural connections for either the Lakotas or the Cheyennes.

Orioles
[*Icterus*]

The three species of orioles reported in the park are rare to uncommon summer residents. The Bullock's or the northern oriole [*Icterus bullockii*] is called *skelu'ta* in Lakota, while the Baltimore oriole, now considered an eastern variety of the northern species, is named *skelu'ta tanka* (big oriole). The Orchard oriole [*Icterus spurius*] is known as *skelu'ta cik'ala* (small oriole). The skins of these birds were often used as knife shields, *wape'gnaka* (Buechel 1970:464). The Southern Cheyennes placed the stuffed skins of orioles on their thunder bows (Grinnell 1972:2:81; Powell 2002a: 69).

Meadowlarks
[*Stunella neglecta*]

The western meadowlark is a common summer resident of the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park.

Tribal Taxonomy

The Cheyenne name for the meadowlark is *enoxeas* (Moore, J. 1986:184), but no special cultural meanings or uses have been reported for it. It is an important bird for the Lakotas, however, who call her *jialepa, tasi'yagnunpa,*or *winap'inla* (Buechel 1970: 267, 483, 835). She is closely connected with the red buffalo calf and the elk, and she is an important messenger of the South Wind, *Itokagata* (Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Powers, W. 1986:139-140, 1992: 152). This bird is mentioned in several sacred stories (Beckwith, M. 1930:381-382; Deloria 1978:30-32; Buechel 1970:267; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397; Walker 1983:127-128, 130, 347, 354, 364), and it is reported to have appeared to Sitting Bull in a vision (Vestal 1932:21-22) .

The Lakotas believe the meadowlark speaks many intelligble words and phrases in their language (Standing Bear 1988:60; Brown 1992:45; Powers, W. 1986:28). Buechel (1970:267) recorded some of its elaborate lingo. The Arapahos also believe the meadowlark can speak in their tongue (Trenholm 1970:61).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Among the Lakotas, the meadowlark is associated with clarity, fidelity, courage, and the good things of the day (Brown 1992:44; Rice 1993:156-157). It occupied a major position in their adoption ceremony, the *Hunka* (Walker 1980:226). Walker (1917: 129) wrote:

> To the Dakota, the meadow lark is the symbol of *fidelity*, just as among English-speaking people, the dove is the symbol of peace. By claiming relationship to the lark, the Shaman claimed *power to influence for fidelity.* By saying, 'A voice in the air,' he implied that the influence for fidelity pervaded the camp.

The meadowlark was also mentioned in the *Pte San Lowampi*, the Lakotas' puberty ceremony for girls. In his description of this ceremony, Walker (1980:249) recorded the words that the shaman told the girl:

> The lark is cheerful. It brings the warm weather. It does not scold its people. It is always happy. If a brave man takes you for his woman you may sing his scalp song and you may dance his scalp dance. He will kill plenty of game so that you will have skins and robes. You will bear him many children and he will make you happy. There will always be a fire in your tipi and you will have food for your people.

In general, appeals are made to the meadowlark as the harbinger of cheer and good weather, as a symbol of fidelity between kin, and as a model of the pleasant dispositions admired in Lakota women. The meadowlark was capable of foretelling the future; leaders of war parties often asked the bird how their expeditions would turn out (Powers, W. 1986:28).

Finally, the meadowlark was connected to the Sun Dance because of the sunflower painted on its breast (Dorsey, J. 1889a:157; Rice 1993:158).

Sparrows and Associates [*Emberizinae*]

Except for the House Sparrow of the *Passeridae* family, the other birds in this group are from the family *Emberizidae.* Many of them are named in Lakota or Cheyenne ornithological nomenclatures, but only a few have any cultural use or significance. Surprisingly, the tribal names for the three species of longspurs, which are rare migrants in the park, have not been recorded in the ethnographic literature, even though two of them, the Lapland longspur [*Calcarius lapponicus*] and the Chestnut-collared longspur [*Calcarius ornatus*], are fairly common on the surrounding prairies. This may be one of several birds with Lakota names, the *igugaotila* as one example, that Buechel (1970: 215) was unable to match with a scientific name.

Sparrows

Sparrows are represented by fourteen different species at Wind Cave National Park. They are classified among the Cheyennes' as ordinary birds. Indeed, the house sparrow [*Passer domesticus*], which is common and permanent everywhere in the Black Hills (Froiland 1978:124), carries the generic name for the Cheyenene class *xamaave?keso* [ordinary bird] (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:105). In Lakota, this bird is called *pa'cansihuta* or *ihu'haotila* (Buechel 1970:218, 422). The tree sparrow [*Spizella arborea*], which is referred to as *zintki'scila* in Lakota, is a common winter resident at Wind Cave National Park (Buechel 1970:658). The grasshopper

sparrow [*Ammodramus savanarum*], a common summer resident of the park, is known as *pte'gaglonica* or *zintka slila* in Lakota (Buechel 1970:658). Finally, the lark sparrow [*Chondestes grammcus*], an uncommon summer resident of the park, is another bird whose feathers are glued to the tips of eagle feathers on Lakota warbonnets, and it is called *situpi an'ayetonpi* (Buechel 1970: 455).

Towhee
[*Pipilo eythrophthalmus*]

The spotted or rufus-sided towhee [*Pipilo-erythrophthalmus*] is a common summer resident of the park. The Lakota call it *can'gugu'ya gleska*, referring to its arboreal domain and its spotted, burnt-like appearance. The Lakota say it makes a smack with its lips and calls out *"kiyo, kiyo, kiyo"* (Buechel 1970:116).

Junco
[*Junco hyemalis*]

There are two birds commonly called the "snowbird" in ornithological writings, the snowbunting [*Plectrophenax nivalis*] and the dark-eyed junco [*Junco hyemalis*]. The first is rare in the Black Hills and not listed at Wind Cave, although it is found on the surrounding prairies during the winter months (Grinnell 1875:85; Melius 1995:84). The junco, by contrast, is a common and permanent resident of Wind Cave National Park, and one variety, the white-winged, is known to breed in the Black Hills. Indeed, George Bird Grinnell (1875:84) described them in 1875 as "the most common bird in the more elevated portions of the Black Hills." The Lakotas call this bird *cantku' sa'pela* [little black breast] (Buechel 1970: 799), and the Cheyennes' name for it is *sehe* (Petter 1913-15:987; Moore, J. 1986:184). The Lakota call the snow-bunting *hupu'-wanbilia*, which is also the name they use for the swallow-tailed kite (Buechel 1970: 670); this bird often flies in large flocks, sometimes in the company of other birds such as horned larks. It is very difficult to know which of these two birds is being referenced in Lakota narratives as the "snowbird." This was the bird that led the first man, *Tokahe*, and his followers to meat and safety when they emerged out of a cave, which many Lakota identify today as Wind Cave (Hassrick 1964:214; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980: 101; Walker 1983:371). It has a high degree of symbolic significance, and at one time, it was an important source of food. According to Iron Shell:

> To catch snow birds, we took several horse hairs with nooses at one end and tied them to a stick, about six inches apart. This we laid on a bare spot of earth from which the snow had blown away. Then from a distance we waited to watch a flock settle. When one little bird would fly up, he would get caught and as we approached the others would fly, but several would catch their feet in the tiny nooses. Snow birds were good boiled or roasted on coals (Hassrick 1964:169).

FINCHES
[*FRINGILLIDAE*]

Nine different members of the *Fringillidae* family are associated with Wind Cave National Park. Only four of these have been identified with names in tribal ornithological listings, however, and none are linked with culturally significant functions or meanings.

Finches
[*Spinus pinus*]

The pine siskin or pine finch [*Spinus pinus*], an uncommon but permanent resident of the park, is called *wazi'zintkala* [pine bird] in Lakota (Buechel 1970:575)**;** it appears in the Lakota Iron Hawk story cycle (Beckwith, M. 1930:388). The American goldfinch [*Spinus tristis*] is a common summer resident at the park. The Lakota know it as *wanbli'tahe'ya* [eagle follower] (Buechel 1970:541).

Crossbill
[*Loxia curviostra*]

The red crossbill [*Loxia curviostra*], another comman and permanent resident of the park, is called *pa'kaic'icuya* in Lakota. The Lakotas say it breeds in mid-winter (Buechel 1970:428).

WARBLERS
[*PAULINAE*]

Sixteen different species of warblers are identified as summer residents or migrants at Wind Cave National Park. Of these, three species, the Yellow-breasted chat [*Icteria virens*], the common yellow-throat [*Geothlypis trichas*], and the yellow rumped warbler [*Dendroica coronata*] are considered common in the area. The chat, *w'ikpi zi* in Lakota, was known to sing its songs during the night (Buechel 1970: 586). The yellow warbler (*Dendroica petchia*), which is an uncommon summer resident of the park, is called *situpi'-wanblila* [little eagle tailfeathers] in Lakota because its small white feathers are also glued on the tips of the eagle feathers that decorate Lakota warbonnets (Buechel 1970:455).

Another closely related species, the American redstart [*Steophaga ruticilla*], is a common summer resident in the Black Hills, but it is not listed in reference to Wind Cave National Park (Froiland 1978:130). The Lakota knew it by three different names, *can'pisko* [tree night-hawk], *kansu zintkala* [plum bird], and *guguya sku* [burnt red]. The first name refers to its wooded habitat, the second to its special association with the plum tree, and the third to the burnt-like appearance of the male's wing and tail feathers (Buechel 1970:123, 284).

TANAGERS
[*THRAUPINAE*]

The scarlet tanager [*Piranga olivacea*] was known to the Lakotas because an image of this bird was drawn by Black Hawk in the late nineteenth century (Berlo 2000:136). Its name, however, has not been recorded in available source materials. Similary, the Cheyennes' name for this bird is not reported, although Grinnell (1972:1:81) noted that the feathers of the tanager were attached to the sacred bows, *Hohnuhkawo*, of the Contraries. Powell (2002a:69) also writes that the heads of the tanager were tied on thunder bows. The red colors the Cheyennes painted on their person and clothing also represented this bird (Ibid.).

III. Insects and Spiders

As already reported, most species of insects were linked to birds and other winged species (i.e., bats) in the cosmologies and naming practices of the Cheyennes and Lakotas. Many insects have gone unnamed and unnoticed in published ethnographic sources. Only a few are identified and differentiated according to species, and of these, even fewer are singled out as culturally significant. Of the numerous species of insects located in the region, only ones that have importance in local tribal cosmologies are described here.

Butterflies, Moths, and Dragonflies

Tribal Taxonomy

The Cheyennes had many names for butterflies, indicating their importance in tribal cosmology. John Moore (1986:182) gives the following identifications:

heovehoze [yellow messenger] - monarch (*Danaus plexippus*)

otatahoze [blue messenger] - blue butterfly (*Celastrina argiolus*)
maehoze [red messenger] - the viceroy (*Limenitis archippus*)
voxpaehoze [white messenger] - white butterfly (*Ganyra josephina*)

The Lakotas call the butterfly *kimimila.* Although their scientific species names are not given, the Lakota also distinguish them by color as follows: --*sapa* [black], --*ska* [white], --*sa* [red], -- *to* [blue], --*zi* [yellow], and --*gleglega* [speckled] (Buechel 1970: 307). *Kimimila ska* is also the name given to the small moths that fly at night and are attracted to light (Ibid.). The miller moth is named *Wanagita-kimimila* [ghost butterfly], and it is admired because it is brave and fearlessly drawn to firelight (Ibid:536; Powers, W. 1986:160).

In the Cheyenne language, the dragonfly was named after the whirlwind, *hevovetaso* (Petter 1913-15:407; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:34; Grinnell 1972:2:112). In Lakota, the dragonfly is known as *tusweca*, and, like the butterfly, it is distinguished by its color: --*tanka zizi* [large yellow], -- *sa* [red], --*to* [blue], and --*tanka gleglega* [large speckled] (Buechel 1970:503).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The Lakotas and the Cheyennes associate butterflies, moths, and dragonflies with whirlwinds because of their quick, erratic, and darting movements (Moore, J. 1986: 178, 186; Powers, W. 1986:159-160). In fact, the Cheyennes considered the butterfly and the dragonfly to be types of birds in the class of their most "holy" animals known as "messengers" (Moore, J. 1986: 178,182).

Since butterflies are often observed by the Cheyennes to swarm around sites where animals are butchered and to drink their blood, they are strongly associated with killing and warfare (Moore, J. 1986:182). According to George Grinnell (1972:1:96), they are often seen in association with a thunderstorm, and so the Cheyennes believe that when the thunders are angry, they shake themselves causing the butterflies, which are their parasites, to fall off them. Green mature dragonflies are associated with summer thunderstorms and green hailstones coming from the South; they are believed to warn people of enemies (Moore, J. 1974a: 157, 158). Immature blue dragonflies are associated with the West and the deep water of the earth, while the white coloration of dragonflies in the fall anticipates the dominance of the North in winter (Ibid:158) The Cheyennes frequently tied butterflies and dragonflies to the hair of their warriors as protective charms, and they also painted their images on shields and on their own bodies to emulate their light and active movements. This was done to help dodge bullets and arrows. Little Chief (also known as Roman Nose), a famous Cheyenne leader, had butterflies painted on the rawhide band that supported the feathers of his warbonnet (Grinnell 1972:2:111-112). Both of these insects were associated with many of the Cheyennes' major ceremonies and were kept in medicine bundles (Moore, J. 1986:182). They were also used as medicines in doctoring (Moore, J.1986:178). Dragonflies, for example, are painted on the bodies of Sun Dancers to represent the whirlwind (Grinnell 1972:2:266; Dorsey, G. 1905:172; Powell 1969:2:844; Moore, J. 1974a:178), and their images are painted on the tipis where the Cheyennes' Sacred Arrows and Sacred Hat were kept (Grinnell 1972:1:89).

The Lakotas also link butterflies, dragonflies, and moths with the thunders (Blish 1934:185; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980:101; Brown 1992:46; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:111). According to Joseph Eppes Brown (1992: 46):

> The Oglala associated the fluttering, wind-making qualities of the moth's wings with the underlying powers of the Whirlwind. They noted that moths and butterflies proceed mysteriously from the confinement of the cocoon; so, this form itself took on

> special signficance and, thus, appeared stylistically represented on a number of objects. The actual cocoon was often found, then wrapped in an eagle plume or down, and worn on the head. This was regarded as a perpetual prayer to the power of the Whirlwind. The sacred cocoon bundle apparently was conceived as being charged with potentiality.

In fact, the Lakota word for a cocoon or puppa, *wamni'omni*, is derived from the word for whirlwind (Buechel 1970:536). According to Clark Wissler (1905:258), the Lakotas believe that the whirlwind originates in a cocoon formation.

Like the Cheyennes, the Lakotas believe that butterflies and dragonflies are able to escape injury by humans, animals, and even the thunders because of their rapid, whirlwind like movements (Wissler 1905:259). As Wissler (1905:258) described this power: "In the whirlwind somehow and somewhere resides the power to produce confusion of the mind, it became the prayer of the Indian that the minds of his enemies should be confused." Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984: 195) also talks about the association of butterflies and dragonflies with whirlwinds and war. He tells of a song appealing to the butterfly and dragonfly that was used by a reknowned *Heyoka* to cure snowblindness. Black Elk himself received a vision of butterflies in which cocoons were placed on his arms to signify the power of fire and lightning (Ibid:139). In another dream a spotted eagle, a chicken hawk, and a black swallow appeared to him followed by swarms of butterflies and dragonflies as the Thunders and their horsemen approached him (Ibid:228-229). Members of the Lakotas' Sacred Bow Society painted their robes with dragonfly designs (Blish 1934: 185).

Crickets, Grasshoppers, and Locusts

In the 1870s, the Black Hills were reported to be a breeding grounds for grasshoppers, and a location from which they issued forth in great numbers (Progulske 1974:123). This conforms with the movements of other animals that the Lakotas and Cheyennes believed originated in the Hills in the winter months and migrated to surrounding prairies in the spring to feed.

Tribal Taxonomy

The grasshopper goes by two names in the Lakota language: one ascription, *psipsicala*, refers its jumping actions (Buechel 1970: 446) and the other denotes a large variety called *anpe'tacagu* [day lungs] (Ibid:83). The Cheyennes call the grasshopper *hakota* (Petter 1913-15:522; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:29). The Cheyennes also identify another variety as *emaenasoszeo* because its wings turn red at a particular point in its life cycle (Petter 1913-15:895).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Use

The Lakotas commonly used grasshoppers as fish bait (Hassrick 1964:172; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:156), and this insect was also reported as a source of food during times of starvation (Kelly1933:123-124).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

In a Lakota Falling Star story, the grasshopper protects the hero during his travels and gives him power to transform himself into a grasshopper that dies and is reborn (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:402, 405). Grasshoppers are another of the insects represented in the body paintings of Cheyenne Sun Dancers (Powell 1969:795, 833, 843; Grinnell 1972:2:264); more specifically, the imagery of its tracks are painted on the Swifthawk dancer because like the hawk it is a "swift moving creature" (Powell 1969: 2:833). Figures of this insect mark the tipis where the Cheyennes' Sacred Arrows and Sacred Hat are kept (Grinnell 1972:1:89). This suggests that grasshoopers may be linked in some way to dragonflies and the

likely connection would be their common wind-power attributes.

In Lakota, another grasshopper without wings, whose scientific species identification is unreported, is named *ptewo'yake,* which translates as "they tell a story of buffalo" (Buechel 1970:449). Robert Holy Elk (1937:44) reported how this insect once told the people where to find bison. A similar idea existed among the Cheyennes, who, according to Grinnell (1972:2:111), captured it to determine the bison's direction. The captor held the insect in his hand and when it became quiet, the direction in which its antennae pointed was considered the direction where bison were located. However, if one antenna pointed backward, then the bison were not found in that direction.

The common cricket is called *heskosema* or *masiskot* in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15:314-315) or *heskósema* (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:29). Among the Lakotas, the house cricket is known as a bug that makes a rolling sound in the house, *wablu'ska tiyoslo* or *–tiyoslola* (Buechel 1970:512).

The locust or cicada was called *mah'a'-wanglake* [watches over the earth or field] in Lakota because it does nothing but sing and watch the fields according to Buechel (1970: 328). This insect is associated with the cloud that descended on the young man who had lacivious thoughts about *Pte San Winyan*, the White Buffalo Calf Woman (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:40). In Cheyenne, it is known as *exa?ohovahe*, a term that refers to the role locusts play in helping berries ripen (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:21).

Ants

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota, the ant is called *tajuska* or *tasuska*, and differentiated as follows: *tasu'ska kinyan* [flying ant], *tasu'ska sapa* [black ant], and *tasu'ska sasa* [red ant] (Buechel 1970:475, 483). In Cheyenne, it is given the name *azesc* (Petter 1913-15:45). Ants are known to afflict people with diseases (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995: 95), but they are also strongly associated with healing. Red ants, for example, were crushed and combined with other medicines to heal wounds when people were shot (Buchel 1970:483). The Cheyenne held a similar notion that eating ants could cure battle wounds (Grinnell 1972:2:138). An ant also appears in one of the Lakotas' Falling Star stories and provides the hero protection in his travels (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 400, 405, 409).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Like other animals that burrow in the ground, ants are held sacred by the Lakotas because they constantly move between subterranean habitats and the earth's surface, recreating the Lakotas' own story of emergence from the underworld (Powers, W. 1986:113). The small stones, *tunkan*, that ants push out of their hills are commonly used in *Yuwipi* ceremonies and kept in small pouches (Ibid:160). At one time, they were also strung on necklaces (Densmore 1948: 200). These stones and the creatures who bring them to the surface are considered sacred because, as William Powers (1982: 13) writes:

> A Yuwipi man will usually try to find such a stone near an anthill, where these industrious creatures have pushed it up to the surface. The Oglalas believe that the surface of the earth is contaminated, but that the earth beneath is clean. Thus the natural objects one finds around any burrow are particularly efficacious for religious purposes. Animals and insects that go back and forth between the surface of the earth and the underground have knowledge of both worlds and themselves form a fraternity whose members may be called upon to aid the people. Thus spiders, ants, moles, prairie dogs, wolves, coyotes, and snakes, though different in anatomy and behavior, are linked in religious precepts because of

> their two-worldliness, and the earth and stones found around their holes are particularly efficacious for promoting personal security and welfare.

Cheyennes also used the quartz sand located near anthills; they melted the sand and fashioned it into the image of a small lizard (Grinnell 1972:1:223).

Water Insects

Another insect whose species is not identified is called *maga'tasunpe*; it is a long-legged black bug that travels on water (Buechel 1970:327). It is associated with healing among the Lakotas, and it is mentionned as one of the spiritual helpers of a Minneconjou female healer (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:171).

Spiders

Tribal Taxonomy

The spider is one of the most significant spiritual presences in Lakota cosmology and important to the Cheyennes as well. In Lakota, the generic name for spider is *unktomi* or *inktomi* (Buechel 1970:507), and in Cheyenne, it is *ve?ho?e* (Petter 1913-15: 999-1000; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:105). George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:88-89) argues that the name of the spider is related to their supreme deity, *Heammawihio*, the Wise one Above. *Vehoe* or *Wihio* embodies, as he puts it,

> ….the idea of mental ability of an order higher than common--superior intelligence. All its uses seem to refer to this mental power. The spider spins a web, and goes up and down, seemingly walking on nothing. It is more able than other insects: hence its name (Ibid:2:88).

Powell (1969:1:300n2), however, claims, based on his reading of Rudolphe Petter's notes, that Grinnell confused the meaning of *veho,* which refers not to wisdom or a web but to trickery and the intricacy of a finely woven trap.

The origin and meaning of the Lakota word for spider is also elusive, but it is probably connected to *Unk*, a prefix for a class of water beings known as the *Unktehi*. *Inktomi* is the progeny of *Inyan*, the Stone, and *Wakinyan*, the Thunders, and he has a half brother *Iya*, the spiritual personification of gluttony and evil, who is descended from *Inyan* and *Unktehi* (Walker 1917:82; Powers, W. 1982:12). In this regard, it is worthwhile to mention too that *Inktomi* is simultaneously represented as an associate of the *Wakinyan* and their archrivals, the *Unktehi* (Dorsey, J. 1894:482; Walker 1980: 118;). This is not surprising given the spider's protrean qualities and its ability to move through all spaces of the cosmos.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

No matter what the etymological origins of its name, the spider represents the spiritual figure of the trickster in both tribal traditions (Grinnell 1972:2:111; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:35). The trickster was seen, as Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:122) puts it, as the "presiding genius of pranks and practical jokes with power to work magic over persons and things." Spider is the first animal of creation, the first to develop language, and thus the one to name all other animals. He is cunning yet hapless, deceitful yet naive, arrogant yet cowardly; he is a creator and a destroyer, a quintessential symbol of cosmic foible and contradiction (Brown 1992:47-48). The spider appears in a wide range of traditional stories, many of which were used to instruct children (Grinnell 1926; Deloria 1978). But he also appears among the Lakota as a central figure in their creation narratives (Walker 1983). It is the spider that uses its guile and trickery to bring *Tokahe* and other humans to the earth's surface from their home under the earth, which some Lakotas believe happened at Wind Cave.

In many ways, the spider defies easy categorization in tribal cosmologies and naming practices. As Joseph Eppes Brown (1992: 47) notes in reference to the Lakotas, "the spider is special because it transcends classification because it carries features that tie it to all categories of animals." Spiders are described as mysterious and spiritually wise (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980:101; Powers, W. 1986:155-156); they are among a select group of spiritual figures that are appealed to in most major Lakota ceremonies (Walker 1980:208). They are also widely associated with healing power. Their power comes from the fact that they are everywhere, able to travel across all the tiers of the Lakota cosmos from the underground to the sky (Powers, W. 1986:155-156). Luther Standing Bear (1978: 26-27) told a story that reflects the spider's ubiquitous presence as follows:

> A Lakota brave was once holding his vigil and fasting. In his vision there came to him a human figure all in black. The person in black handed to the brave a plant and said, 'Wrap this plant in a piece of buckskin and hang it in your tipi. It will keep you in good health.' When the brave asked who was speaking to him, the figure answered, 'I can walk on the water and I can go beneath the water. I can walk on the earth, and I can go into the earth. Also I can fly in the air. I can do more work than any other creature, and my handiwork is everywhere yet no one knows how I work. I am Spider. Go home and tell your people that the Spider has spoken to you.' This happened long ago, but the Lakotas still use the Spider's medicine.

Among the Lakotas, spiders are closely connected to healing. According to Mark St. Pierre and Tilda Long Soldier (1995:110-111): "Since the trap-door spider on the prairie was seen to burrow and seek the shelter of the rocks and earth, it is also closely associated with the powers of Mother Earth and is a particularly useful ally in doctoring the sick, and in various incarnations is a common helper of healers." The spider is frequently addressed in modern *Yuwipi* songs (Powers, W. 1986:156-157; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:156), and it is also reported in association with the dreams of healers (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:171). Grinnell (1972:2:111) wrote that the spider was an animal the Cheyennes associated with medicine, but he did not specify the nature of the connection.

Another source of the spider's power is its connection to the Thunders. Thomas Tyon told James Walker (180:170):

> If a man is going to kill a spider, it is proper to say this first and then kill it, "Grandfather, *wakinyan* are killing you!" he says then he kills the spider. Then that man is never bitten by spiders, it is said. When someone does not say that before killing a spider then the spider is offended and spiders bite the man, it is said. So it is. Spiders are very *wakan*, the people believe. This is the end. This belongs to the spider (*Iktomi tawayelo*).

James Owens Dorsey (1894:479) also wrote about the dangerous consequences of killing spiders without offering them prayers. According to William Powers (1992:156), the Thunders are the only living beings that can attack spiders without fear of retaliation. Dora (Little Wound) Rocks expressed another novel connection to the Thunders (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:49):

> The white people are descended from the spider people. They have learned to use electricity. That electricity once belonged only to the *Wakinyan* [Thunder Beings].
>
> To do this they put up wires on poles. They send these wires all over. As eletricity covers the earth, it creates a huge spider web. One day this spider web will cause a great fire. This will cause the buffalo to lose its last leg and fall to the earth. This will be the end of the world.

Historically at least, the Lakotas saw the spider's web as indestructible, and they often imitated its design to ward off the dangers of the Thunders (Wissler 1904: 44). The design was also used to deflect other sorts of danger too (Powers, W. 1986:159).

As Clark Wissler (1904:44) wrote:

> The observed fact that a spider manufactures a web, and that this web is not destroyed by bullets or arrows (since they pass through it, leaving only a hole), is cited by some individuals as the basis for the conception that the spider has power to protect people from harm.

Generally speaking, the spider was appealed to and imitated in a wide variety of contexts where people required protection. For example, the warrior members of the Sacred Bow Society hung rawhide images of a spider from their eagle bone whistles (Wissler 1904:44; Blish 1934:185).

Besides the protective symbolism attached to the spider, which this animal also shared with lizards, turtles, and dragonflies (Powers, W. 1986:159,160), there were other symbolic associations, notably, its relationship with technology and industry. Oscar Howe (in Long Soldier and St. Pierre 1995: 49-50) told a story of how the spider design, *tohokmu*, came to the people. In this story, a young hunter, while searching for game, took shelter in a cave and fell asleep. When he awoke the next morning, he saw a beautiful web above his head. Because he admired it and did not bring harm to its maker, the spider gifted him with knowledge of a hill where stones for making arrowheads could be found. She also instructed him how to make arrowheads, a technology that the Lakotas believe was invented by spiders. In Lakota traditions, there is a fundamental connection between the spiritual powers of spiders and stones (Powers, W.1982:12-13). Arrowheads and stone clubs abandoned on the prairie are often attributed to the work of spiders (Smith, D. 1949:307; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:311n6; Brown 1992:47). In *Yuwipi* ceremonies, spiders and stones are often addressed simul-aneously and even interchangeably in prayer and song (Powers, W. 1986:156-157).

The industry of the spider was not only linked to the making of arrowheads but it was also associated with women's work. In the buffalo sing for a young woman, the intercessor says, "A spider, a turtle, the voice of the lark, a brave man, children, a smoking tipi" (Walker 1980:249). According to Walker (1980:249), the spider served as a model for an industrious woman who provides adequate food and shelter for her children. Indeed, women who excel at quillwork often link their abilities to the spiritual influence of the spider (Sundstrom, L. 2002).

There is yet another symbolic association and that is the connection of the spider's web to the Four Winds and the Whirlwind. Designs painted on the blankets of children often involved representations of a spider's web (Densmore 1918:77), and according to Clark Wissler (1904:248-249), the design symbolized the homes of the winds at the four corners of the universe. This design and a web-like hammock the Lakotas made for their children were thought to bring good fortune (Wissler 1904:248-249; Brown 1992:49). The spider was also symbolically linked to the whirlwind, not only by way of its web, but also through the manner it wraps its eggs in a chrysalis-like pouch (Wissler 1904:44, Brown 1992:49). Like the whirlwind and its associates, the dragonfly and butterfly, the spider is understood to emerge from a cocoon that holds the power that gives rise to its own movement and life force. Cocoons and caves, in many ways, are symbolic equivalents insofar as both represent enclosed spaces where the breath of life incubates awaiting rebirth and regeneration (Brown 1992:49).

The spider's web, *tawogmunke*, [*ta* = meat, *wogmunke* =to trap] (Buechel 1970:485) [*gmunke* = trap] or *tawokaske* [wowokaske = to tie or imprison] (Powers, W. 1986:152), was associated with trickery and entrapment, especially in matters of romantic interest. Like the hoop of the elk dreamer, the spider's web had the power to attract and catch a member of the opposite sex (Brown 1992:49), and so the spider's image was often painted on the lower corner of a courting blanket (Wissler 1905:267).

IV. Reptiles and Amphibians

Nearly twenty different species of reptiles and amphibians are reported at Wind Cave National Park, and again, the park's website (Pisarowicz 2001) is the principle source of information. A much larger number, however, are identified for the Black Hills region as a whole.

In Lakota and Cheyenne traditions, some orders of reptiles and amphibians are able to cross different planes of the universe, and as a result, they occupied spiritually important positions. Frogs, lizards, and turtles, according to William Powers (1986:162), were considered sacred to the Lakota "because it was believed...that these species fell to the earth during rainstorms." In fact, certain species of reptiles and amphibians were grouped together and identified by similar names based on their shared spiritual traits.

Frogs and Toads

One species of frog is abundant at Wind Cave National Park, the upland chorus [*Pseudacris triserata*], while another, the northern leopard [*Rana pipiens*], is not found in the park even though the habitat is well-suited to its presence. Two species of toads are also present: the woodhouse [*Bufo woodhousei*] and the great plains toad [*Bufo Cognatus*]. Another variety, the plains spadefoot [*Scaphiopus bombifrons*] is largely restricted to the open grassland areas of the park.

Tribal Taxonomy

In Lakota, the generic name for frog is *gnaska* (Buechel 1970:162), while the bullfrog is known as *was'in* (Buechel 1970: 664). *Gnaska' canli* [tobacco frog] designates a small tree frog with a loud voice, and *gnaska wakan* [holy frog] identifies a frog with a loud voice that sounds like the bray of a donkey (Ibid:162). Tadpoles were called *honagila* [little spirit voice] and *honawitkala* (Ibid:184). The toad is known variously as *mata'piha* (Ibid:334), or *witapiha* (Ibid:590). In Cheyenne, the frog is known as *oonaha?e* (Petter 1913-15: 504; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:39), and the toad is named *popeeona* (Petter 1913-15:504).

There are no specific references in the literature to frogs being taken as food either by the Lakotas or the Cheyennes. Indeed, Lone Man told Francis Densmore (1992: 160):

> They told me that the frog must not be harmed, as he watches everything in the water and has been given this peculiar power. They told me a great deal about the creatures that live in the water, saying they are taken care of, and water is sent them from the sky when they need it; therefore they should never be treated cruelly.

Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:152), however, claimed that his first use of a bow and arrow involved the killing of a frog.

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

According to Thomas Tyon (Walker 1980: 122), frogs were closely associated with "occult powers." They were viewed as the soldiers of the Thunders, *Wakinyan* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear and Sword in Walker 1980:101). The Cheyennes also link frogs to the thunders, and like lizards, they are believed to fall with the rain from storm clouds (Moore, J. 1974a:157). Tadpoles are painted on the ankles of the blacktail deer dancers in their Sun Dance (Powell 1969:2: 834). According to Powers (1986: 162), the Lakotas view frogs as mediators between earth and water, "hard to catch, therefore good to emulate." Both tribes link them to certain forms of healing (Densmore 1948: 179; Grinnell 1972:2: 135; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995: 197). Toads were also directly associated with healing. Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980:161) that

people who dream of toads beome sucking doctors. As he put it:

> If a man dreams of a toad, he is a doctor (wapiya), it is said. Whatever these toads suck, they suck hard. So it is that man who dreams of a toad is very wakan, they believe. From the time of his dream, he doctors people using his mouth. He takes all the bad blood out of the body, it is said. Those men who become doctors, Indian doctors, do not do it intentionally. The dreams they have of animals are what cause them to believe they are doctors. Those who dream of the toad believe that it is their leader.

The Cheyennes connect toads, especially the horned variety, with the treatment of snakebites because they are able to run over snakes without ever being harmed (Grinnell 1972:1:111,150-151).

Lizards, Newts, and Salamanders

At Wind Cave National Park, only the blotched tiger salamander [*Ambystoma tigrinum*], is reported; it is a common resident of the park. Observations of lizards have not been recorded at the park, but they may occur here because this area is situated within the geographic ranges they are known to cover.

Tribal Taxonomy

Although lizards and newts/salamanders are members of completely separate scientific groups, they are sometimes combined in tribal naming practices. For example, the name *agleska* [spotted on top] is the generic name for the lizard in Lakota (Buechel 1970:57), but among Dakota speakers, it identifies the newt (Williamson 1970:113). There are also two other names for lizard in Lakota: *wankipaksa* (Buechel 1970:542) and *t''elanuwe*, which refers to a small lizard found in hilly areas (Ibid:664). The Cheyenne name for the lizard is *hao?taoheso* (Petter 1913-15: 663; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:64), while the newt and salamander are called *heo?ohtato* (Petter 1913-15:934; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:120). The Cheyenne identified another lizard as *amahaohemen*, which they described as a flying creature of the wooded canyons of the Southwest and an animal that inflicts disease (Petter 1913-15: 407).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Among the Lakotas, lizards were the *akicita* of the Thunders, and according to James Walker (1982:104), they were associated with "increase, nourishment, and growth." In some references, however, the lizard is considered the messenger of the Thunders' enemy, the *Unktehi*, a class of water monsters (Walker 1980:118; Dorsey, J. 1894: 482). William Bordeaux (1929:113) indicated that the Lakotas admired the sand lizard because it could kill snakes and other reptiles. As he writes:

> The Indians believed and have in fact witnessed sand lizards, Te-La-Ne-We-La, charming and killing snakes and reptiles. On discovering a snake, the lizard would run in a circle around the snake which was coiled up ready for attack or to strike. The lizard would stop, retrace its steps and go in the opposite direction. The object was to worry the snake as much as possible until finally the snake was compelled to uncoil and crawl away. Like a flash the lizard will start from the tail and run the full length of the snake, jumping off at the head and disappearing in the weeds. The snake is killed in this manner either by fright or poison, hence the Sioux Indians regard the sand lizard as a dangerous animal.

William Powers (1986:162) elaborates further on the symbolism associated with lizards as follows:

> The lizard can disappear easily into small crevices and therefore represents not only areas above the earth and the earth's surface but also places beneath the earth. The word *t'elanuns'e* means 'almost dead' and refers to the fact that the lizard can deceive

> enemies by holding itself very still. It is also regarded as capable of living to an old age which is also true of the other creatures in this category.

Some Lakota who encountered lizards in dreams became *Heyoka* or Contraries (Hassrick 1964:214), and others became specialized healers able to treat arthritis (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:183).

The Cheyenne viewed the small, quick moving lizards as spiritual helpers as well, and they were admired for their swift motion and ability to kill snakes (Grinnell 1972:2: 110, 111). The Cheyennes did not kill lizards, and if they did do so accidentally, they made offerings to them (Grinnell 1972: 2:111). Lizards were considered powerful war charms, giving courage to their wearers and the power to move quickly and escape bullets and arrows (Grinnell 1972:2:110). Certain Cheyenne Sun Dancers paint a white lizard, head upward, on their arms and thighs (Grinnell 1972:2:266,279; Powell 1969:2:795,833), and they carry the figure of a lizard in their hands (Powell 1969:2 845). Figures of the lizard are carved into pipestems used at the Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:270), and they were also cut from rawhide as good luck charms. People who desired to make a vow or obtain power wore these figures (Grinnell 1972:2:110). In the distant past, the Cheyennes made small beads in the image of a lizard fashioned from the quartz sand located near anthills (Grinnell 1972:1:223). The Cheyennes believed that the power associated with lizards was a protection but a danger too, and certain doctors specialized in treating afflictions caused by this animal (Grinnell 1972: 2:131). Newts and salamanders were also associated with healing; they were feared and not generally killed except when needed to treat leg pains (Grinnell 1972:2:111; Rockroads in Leman 1987: 214; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55).

The Cheyennes made pouches, shaped like a lizard or a salamander, to hold an infant's umbilical cord (Grinnell 1972:2:110; Rockroads in Leman 1987:214). The Arapahos followed this practice too, and they made small paint bags in the likeness of lizards (Trenholm 1970:60,73). Pouches in the shape of a lizard were also made by the Lakotas to hold the umbilical cord of male infants to protect them from danger, especially the malevolent, *Anog-Ite*, the Two-Faced Woman who was seen as an enemy of the *Wakinyan* or Thunders (Walker 1982: 104; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1985:112). Luther Standing Bear (1978:184) described these pouches as follows:

> There was one charm, however, known as the cekpa almale, which every boy possessed and which he wore into his first battle with the hopes that it would bring him home safely. When a Lakota boy was born, a small piece of the umbilical cord was placed in a decorated buckskin bag made in the shape of a lizard. The bag was stuffed with buffalo wool in which was wrapped the piece of cord. The bag was sewed up and placed on the boy's back and he wore it until he was six or seven years of age. The mother then kept it and gave it to him as a good-luck talisman when he started with his first war-party. The talisman was made in the shape of a lizard, because it can flatten itself on the ground and appear to be dead, whereas it is very much alive and able to run away speedily from its enemies. So the meaning of the talisman was Telanunwela, or 'dead yet alive.' If the boy returned in safety, the mother buried the cekpa aknake and it was never seen again.

Snakes

Ten different species of snake are found at Wind Cave National Park. The prairie rattlesnake [*Crotalus viridis*] is the most common and often located at the park's prairie dog towns, but the bullsnake [*Pituophis melanoleucus*] and the wandering garter [*Thamnophis elegans*] are also abundant. The red-sided garter [*Thamnophis sirtalis*] and the eastern yellow-bellied racer [*Coluber constrictor*] are common, while the western plains garter [*Thamnophis radix*], the Black Hills red-bellied snake [*Storeria*

occipitomaculata], the plains western hognose [*Heterodon nasicus*], the pale milk snake [*Lampropetis triangulum*], and the smooth green snake [*Opheodrys vernalis*] are rare.

Tribal Taxonomy

The generic ascription in Lakota for snake is *zuzeca* (Buechel 1970:659), but there are also several species-specific names. The rattlesnake is called, *sintehla* [rattle tail] (Ibid: 54), the garter snake is known as *wagleza* (Ibid:515), and the bull is known as *wangleglega* or *zuzeca luzahan* [fast snake] (Ibid:5 41, 659). Buechel only gives the name for the blue racer, *wanto* (Ibid:542), so the yellow variety might have been called *wanzi*. The *zuzeca blaska* [fast snake] was a flat looking snake, possibly the western hognose, while *zuzeca kinyanpi* referred to a flying snake (Ibid:659). And finally, the water snake was known as *mini'mahel* [inside the water] (Ibid:336). Several different names are given for snakes in Cheyenne: *se?senovotse*, the generic name (Petter 1913-15:986; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:102), *xamaase?-senovotse*, the rattlesnake (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976: 89), *maatameo*, the blue racer, *niee*, bull snake, and *sasooveta*, *saseskoveta* or *saskoveta*, the water snake (Petter 1913-15: 986, 1095; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976: 120).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

Unlike other reptiles, which were highly valued by the Lakotas, snakes were generally feared and avoided (Brown 1992:40; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:113). Snakes were seen as sly and deceitful (Walker 1980:122), and dreams of them portended death and disaster (Dorsey, J. 1894:479-480). They were considered the messengers of the much reviled water creatures, the *Unktehi* (Walker 1980:118). Indeed, Good Seat (Ibid:71) even claimed that the spirits of this bad animal did not move on to the spirit world. In some versions of the White Buffalo Calf woman story, they were the animals that devoured the young man who lusted after *Pte San Winyan* (Walker 1980:149; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:40). In a Falling Star story, a snake is asked to raise the boy, but he declines, saying: "No, I am the most unliked and most pitiful animal of all. I have no legs and have to crawl on my stomach and I eat dirt and can't get around much. I am not liked and I am not fit to raise him" (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397). Not surprisingly, snakes were believed to cause serious illnesses that required treatment from powerful healers (Walker 1980:91; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:57-58). In spite of the overall negative attitude towards snakes, they were known as the originating power behind the Lakotas' sacred Bow Society (Blish 1934:183), and their skins were tied around the bows and sometimes used as protection against danger (Blish 1934:183; Powers, W. 1986:160). Snake venom was used by the Lakotas to make poison arrows (Bordeaux 1929:157-158).

The Cheyennes, like the Arapahos, held the snake in much higher regard than the Lakotas. In the Arapaho creation story, the garter snake sacrificed itself by becoming the circumference of the universe. The outer rim of the Arapahos' sacred Wheel has one end tapered like the tail of a snake and the other fashioned into its head (Trenholm 1970:56; Harrod 1987:51). The Cheyenne believed the blue racer, which came from the sun, was a snake with great power (Grinnell 1972:1:150). The Cheyennes carved some of their flutes in the image of a snake (Grinnell 1972:1:205), their Elk Soldiers carried elkhorn instruments carved in the image of a snake (Grinnell 1972:2: 58), and their Sun Dance priests used pipestems with snake carvings (Ibid:270). These snake images probably represented the much-revered blue racers. Rattlesnakes, on the other hand, were greatly feared by the Cheyennes. Only a few of their healers were able to treat this snake's venomous bites (Ibid:148-150).

Turtles

Two turtles are reported at Wind Cave. The snapping turtle [*Chelydra serpentina*] is commonly found along streambeds, while the western painted turtle [*Chrysemys picta*] is located near shallow water and at soft muddy locations.

Tribal Taxonomy

In the Lakota language, the generic name for turtles is *ke* or *keya* (Buechel 1970:297). Many varieties are differentiated by species-specific names in Lakota as well, although Buechel never identified any of them with scientific taxonomies. There was a species of turtle associated with trees, *ke can'h'a*, another variety that was spotted and lived on land, *ke glezela*, and one that was soft-shelled, *ke nununja* (Ibid: 297). There was a small water turtle known as *patkasa, patkasala,* or *tatka'sa* (Ibid:436, 827) and two additional ones, the *ke skokpa*, a large turtle, and the *ke s'samna*, a stink turtle (Ibid:665). The Cheyennes named the turtle *ma?eno,* which is the same word for fog. The Cheyennes connect this animal to the creation of the world when it still existed in a primal mist (Petter 1913-15:489,1072; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:116). They also see it as a symbol of the womb (Petter 1913-15:1072).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Practical Use

Turtles and their eggs were eaten and considered delicacies by both the Cheyennes and Lakotas (Bordeaux 1929:200; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Hassrick 1964: 173; Grinnell 1972:1:256). Adults and children of both tribes frequently caught turtles by waiting for them to surface and then diving into the water to catch them with their hands, or else, they caught them on the shores where they basked in the early morning sun (Grinnell 1972:1:307; Hassrick 1964:173; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9). Standing Bear (1988:63-65) described how turtles were caught, when he wrote:

> The turtles which we caught out of the beaver pond made a good food, so we boys often went fishing for turtles. First we looked for them along the banks. If we did not find them there, we went into the water for them, either wading or swimming. Turtles like sunbaths, so we slipped along quietly, hoping to catch sight of them lying in the sand. Maybe a log extended from the water to the shore and a whole row of turtles would be on it enjoying the sun.

William Bordeaux (1929:200-201) also describes the ways in which Lakotas once captured turtles.

When turtles were killed by the Cheyennes, their entrails were removed. Standing on the edges of their shells, they were placed around a fire and roasted. Sometimes they were also boiled in their shells (Grinnell 1972:1:308). The Lakotas often boiled their turtle meat in soups (Standing Bear 1988:64; Hassrick 1964:173; Walking Bull 1980:11-12). Turtle shells were also used by the Cheyennes to make bowls (Grinnell 1972:1: 171) and sometimes spoons (Hoebel 1960: 62). The Lakotas made them into serving dishes and used them as paint pots (Standing Bear 1975:15, 21); they also attached them to their children's clothes to ward off sickness (Bordeaux 1929:112-113). The Plains Apaches attached the bones of snapping turtles to their children's dress to repel snakes (Schweinfurth 2002:104).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The movement of turtles, according to Standing Bear (1988:65), served as a practical sign that a body of water would dry up after they departed. The turtle's simultaneous link with earth and water imbued it with feminine and procreative symbolism in Lakota cosmology (Meeker 1901a:163; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:112). The Lakota believed that the turtle spirit was a wise protector of life. Women often wore small beaded turtles as fertility charms on

their belts (Densmore 1948: 193). Its shield protected it from being wounded, and thus, it was also associated with powers over surgery, accidents, conception, birth, infants, and illnesses specific to women (Walker 1917:147, 1980:122, 249). In the *Pte San Lowanpi*, a coming of age ceremony for young women, the turtle was held up as an animal to emulate because "it hears many things and does not tell anything" (Walker 1980:249).

Turtles appeared in visions (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:121-122; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:109), and women who received power from them often cured infertility and other female reproductive complications (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:112,113). They played an important role in Lakota healing, not only in giving doctors spiritual guidance (Powers, W. 1986:162), but also as a remedy for specific illnesses. Eating the heart of a turtle, for example, treated infertility and menstrual disorders, (Walker 1917: 147; Wissler 1904:241-242).

Pouches to hold an infant's umbilical cord were also made in the shape of a turtle (Wissler 1904:241; Red Shirt 2002:114). Turtle designs appeared on cradleboards and women's leggings. The U-shaped designs beaded on the bodice and wing-like arm extensions of a Lakota woman's buckskin dress represented the breast and shells of turtles respectively. These were often placed against solid blue backgrounds that represented the water in "both the seen and unseen world" (Wissler 1904:240).

The Cheyennes also considered the turtle to be a sacred animal because it was difficult to kill (Marriott and Rachlin 1975:78; Grinnell 1972:1:193). Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes placed an infant's umbilical cord in pouches made in the form of a turtle (Grinnell 1972:2:110). Cheyenne doctors appealed to turtles in some of their healing treatments (Ibid:1:146), and warriors often carried their shells so that they would recover when wounded (Ibid:1:193). Turtles are also carved onto the stem of the pipes used in the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Ibid:2:232, 270).

V. Fish, Crustaceans, and Mollusks

Fish

The northern plains region is not typically associated with fish, and at least historically, some observers claimed that many local tribes were loathe to eat them. Although fishing was not a major subsistence pursuit for most of the tribes in the region, it was a routine activity that supplemented and added variety to the diets of the Lakotas and Cheyennes (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:89; Hoebel 1960:64; Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:114; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9). John Moore (1974a: 208) argues, however, that fish was not a preferred food and considered a sign of poverty. Fishing was a common occupation for young boys among the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:114) and among the Lakotas. Standing Bear (1988:65-66) and Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:156-157,161) fondly recalled fishing in the streams of the Black Hills during their childhood years.

History & Habitat

Only a few varieties of fish are native to the waterways of the Black Hills and the larger rivers surrounding them. In 1875, Lt. Richard Dodge (1965:126) reported seeing suckers and dace in some of the Hills' streams and catfish in surrounding waterways. Today, some of these species or closely related ones are being restocked in streams managed by federal agencies. In the waterways that cross Wind Cave National Park, including Beaver, Highland, and Cold Spring Creeks, six species are reported: brook trout [*Salvenlinus fontinalus*], white sucker [*catostomus commersoni*], mountain sucker [*Catastomus platrhychus*], longnose dace [*rhinichthys cataractae*], creek chub [*Semotilus astromaculatus*], and

fathead minnow [*Pimephalespromelas*] (Pisarowicz 2001d).

Tribal Taxonomy

In the Lakota language, fish are generically known as *hogan*, and minnows are called *hogansanla* or *hoganscila* (Buechel 1970: 180-181). Lakota names for fish species include: *hoiwotka*, or *hosan* [carp] (Ibid:182), *howasapa* [catfish] (Ibid:186), *hoka* or *zezecahogan* (eel [fish snake]) (Ibid: 182, 659), *hogleglega* [trout] and *holaska* or *hoblaska* [chad] (Ibid:181). In Cheyenne, the generic name for fish is *noma?he* or *noma?ne* (Petter 1913-15:482; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:39), while the catfish is called *axeo-hova* [water monster-animal] (Petter1913-15:482; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:18).

Modes of Procurement, Preparation, and Practical Use

The Lakotas and Cheyennes fished for suckers, catfish, and redfins, and they used a variety of different techniques in their fishing pursuits. In one, fish were speared (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:156-157, 161; Hassrick 1964:173). According to one of Royal B. Hassrick's consultants:

> Suckers never bit when we fished for them, so we used spears. These were made from forked poles about six feet long, with four barbed-like notches on the inside of each sharpened prong. If you missed the fish with the prong, it was certain to be caught by the center barbs. We also caught suckers in another way by attaching a noose of rawhide to the end of a pole. Then putting the loop in the water, we carefully slipped it over the fish's head past his gills. By jerking very rapidly, we often caught a sucker (Hassrick 1964: 173).

Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:156-157) elaborated upon this in relation to "calling fish" as follows:

> We have a boy who [*calls the fish and catches them and*] puts the fish on a stick with a fork on the end so that it will not fall off and then he kisses it. If you don't kiss the fish, you don't get any. They should all be very quiet except the fisherman...There was another boy [*the caller*] who, when he say this line to the fish, he would pull them out one after the other. We got about thirty fish on two sticks, and went home with them. Whenever we caught a small fish that is no good, we would kiss it and throw it back in the water, meaning that he should tell the bigger fish to come along. The reason we talk to fish was that we should be like relatives to all animals as I had seen in my vision. We were ready to go home and the bait we had left we offered to the fish in payment for the fish we had gotten. The next time we went fishing we would be lucky.

Other popular techniques entailed seining fish upriver toward a waterfall (Hassrick 1969:173) or catching them with a bone hook attached to a long line of sinew and a willow pole (Standing Buffalo 1988:66-67). The Cheyennes caught fish with lines made from buffalo sinew to which meat was attached (Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9), and they also made lines from horsehair (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:89). Among the Lakotas, lines were made from horsehair and hooks from the rib of a mouse (Bordeaux 1929:130). Grasshoppers were a popular bait, and bits of venison pancreas were commonly used too (Hassrick 1964:172; DeMallie 1984:156). Standing Bear (1988: 66) described other kinds of bait as follows:

> For bait we used buffalo meat. Fish will not notice cooked meat, so, of course our bait was raw. Also fish are attracted to red, so we gathered along our way some red berries, perhaps the buds of the wild rose. By throwing these into the water, we would soon find out if there were any fish there. We tested for fish in this way until we found a spot where the fish were before using our buffalo meet.

The Lakotas baked their fish in a small pit lined with leaves, or they parboiled them (Hassrick 1964:173).

The Cheyennes used seining techniques as well (Grinnell 1972:2:48, 308), but more typically, they caught fish in a pen made of willow saplings, which was built under the supervision of a medicine man. Once the fish were trapped, a small opening was made in the pen and an appointed man pulled the fish out with his hands. Such traps were commonly used to capture suckers and whitefish (Curtis 1907-30:6: 156; Grinnell 1972:1:311). Before metal was introduced to the Cheyennes in trade, spines were taken from the side of the head of a large catfish to make awls (Grinnell 1972:1:218). And before beads were acquired from European American traders, necklaces were fashioned from the vertebrae of fish (Grinnell 1972: 1:223).

Symbolic and Spiritual Significance

The Lakotas considered fish *wakan*, a "patron of abolition," and a source of healing power connected to water (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980:101,Walker 1980:122; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:139). Those who dreamed of fish became healers (Walker 1980:161; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:171), and Black Elk was one of the people who received healing powers from fish (in DeMallie 1984:139.). Today, fish are sometimes served in ceremonies because they are a favorite food of bear and eagle spirits (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:171). The Cheyennes also linked fish to healing, and George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:151) presents an example of this when Spotted Wolf is wounded and dives into the water to retrieve a fish upon instructions he receives from a kingfisher.

Crustaceans and Mollusks

Historically, many of the rivers and streams in the central Plains were well stocked with mussels and snails (Hayden 1862b:179-182). Ferdinand Hayden (Ibid: 179) found few living shells in the Black Hills in 1857, but he did observe that many of the little streams were filled with land and freshwater shells. Shells were used for spoons, paint pots, incense containers, and scrapers (Densmore 1918:399, 1948:172, 195; Wedel and Frison 2001: 52). Snails went by several different names in Lakota: *mniwamnuh'a* (Buechel 1970:339), *tunsla*,a name also used for leeches (Ibid:502), and *wahacan kakic'in* [one who carries a shield on their back] (Ibid:517). Their shells served as ornamentation (Buechel 1970:339; Densmore 1948: 200). Clams were called *tuki* and the shell without the animal, *tuki' ha* (Buechel 1970: 501). Another word for shell was *kanpe'ska* or *panke'ska,* after which the Platte River, *Panke'sha Wakpa,* is named (Riggs 1968: 259; Buechel 1970:430).

The Cheyennes knew the clam or mussel as *hexovo* (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:21) and the snail as *nimac* (Petter 1913-15:986). They sometimes decorated the fringe of their leggings with these shells (Grinnell 1972:1:221). Mussellshells are related to the West direction and the moon, which is also tied to the claws of carnivores and horns of ruminants (Moore, J. 1974a:152).

Local tribes also procured a variety of crustaceans for food and manufacture. In Lakota, crayfish are called *matu'gna*, and crawfish are known as *matuska* (Buechel 1970:334). The Lakotas boiled and fried crustaceans. The claws of the crayfish were boiled, and when they turned red, they were treated with grease and used as ornaments on clothing (Bordeaux 1929:131). The Cheyenne knew them as *hetoxtne* (Petter 1913-15:313).